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WITH

Particular Accounts of their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, and Government; their several Battles and Treaties with the *European* Nations; their Wars with the other *Indians*;

AND

A true Account of the present State of our TRADE with them.

In which are shewn,

The great Advantage of their Trade and Alliance to the *British* Nation; and the Intrigues and Attempts of the *French* to engage them from us; a Subject nearly concerning all our *American* Plantations, and highly meriting the Consideration of the *British* Nation.

By the Honourable CADWALLADER COLDEN, *Esq*; *One of his Majesty's Counsel, and Surveyor-General of* New-York.

To which are added,

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MDCCL.

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WHICH ARE

The BARRIER between the ENGLISH and FRENCH in that Part of the World.

WITH

Particular Accounts of their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, and Government; their several Battles and Treaties with the Neighbouring Nations; their Wars with the other Indians,

AND

A true Description of the present State of our Plantations with them.

In which are shewn,

The great Advantages of their Trade and Alliance to the English Nation; and the Dangers and Attempts of the French to engage them from us; with many useful Observations on our Indian Affairs, and Hints concerning the Conservation of the Five Nations.

By the Honourable COLONEL PETER SCHUYLER, Late Governor of Albany, Chief Sachem, and Supreme Captain of the Five Nations, and Governor Generall of New York.

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MDCCII.



Peter Redpath

TO THE HONOURABLE

GENERAL *OGLETHORPE.*

SIR,

THE *Indian* Affairs have ever appeared to your Judgment of ſuch Importance to the Welfare of our own People, that you have ever carefully applied your Thoughts to them; and that with ſuch Succeſs, that not only the preſent Generation will enjoy the Benefit of your Care, but our lateſt Poſterity bleſs your Memory for that Happineſs, the Foundation of which was laid under your Care, provided that the People here, whoſe Duty

Duty and Intereſt is chiefly concerned, do on their own Parts ſecond your Endeavours, towards ſecuring the Peace, and advancing the Proſperity of their Country.

The following Account of the *Five Indian Nations* will ſhew what dangerous Neighbours the *Indians* have once been; what Pains a neighbouring Colony (whoſe Intereſt is oppoſite to ours) has taken to withdraw their Affections from us; and how much we ought to be on our Guard. If we only conſider the Riches which our Enemies receive from the *Indian Trade* (though we were under no Apprehenſions from the *Indians* themſelves) it would be highly imprudent in us to ſuffer ſuch People to grow Rich and Powerful, while it is in our Power to prevent it, with much leſs Charge and Trouble, than it is in theirs to accompliſh their Deſigns.

Theſe

These Considerations alone are sufficient to make the *Indian Affairs* deserve the most serious Thoughts of every Governor in *America*. But I well know, besides; that your Excellency's Views are not confined to the Interest of one Country only.

The *Five Nations* are a poor and, generally called, barbarous People, bred under the darkest Ignorance; and yet a bright and noble Genius shines through these black Clouds. None of the greatest *Roman* Heroes have discovered a greater Love to their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death, than these People called Barbarians have done, when Liberty came in Competition. Indeed, I think our *Indians* have outdone the *Romans* in this Particular; some of the greatest of those have we know murdered themselves

ſelves to avoid Shame or Torments; but our *Indians* have refuſed to die meanly, or with but little Pain, when they thought their Country's Honour would be at Stake by it *; but have given their Bodies, willingly, to the moſt cruel Torments of their Enemies, to ſhew, as they ſaid, that the *Five Nations* conſiſted of Men, whoſe Courage and Reſolution could not be ſhaken. They greatly ſully, however, thoſe noble Virtues, by that cruel Paſſion, Revenge; this they think it not only lawful, but honourable, to exert without Mercy on their Country's Enemies, and for this only it is that they can deſerve the Name of Barbarians.

But what, alas! Sir, have we Chriſtians done to make them better? We have indeed Reaſon to be aſhamed, that

* This will appear by ſeveral Inſtances in the Second Part of this Hiſtory.

theſe

theſe Infidels, by our Converſation and Neighbourhood, are become worſe than they were before they knew us. Inſtead of Virtues we have only taught them Vices, that they were intirely free from before that Time. The narrow Views of private Intereſt have occaſioned this, and will occaſion greater, even publick Miſchiefs, if the Governors of the People do not, like true Patriots, exert themſelves, and put a Stop to theſe growing Evils. If theſe Practices be winked at, inſtead of faithful Friends, that have manfully fought our Battles for us, the *Five Nations* will become faithleſs Thieves and Robbers, and join with every Enemy that can give them any Hopes of Plunder.

If Care were taken to plant and cultivate in them that general Benevolence to Mankind, which is the true firſt Principle of Virtue, it would effectually eradicate thoſe horrid Vices, occaſioned by their unbounded Re-

venge; and then they would no longer deserve the Name of Barbarians, but would become a People, whose Friendship might add Honour to the *British* Nation.

The *Greeks* and *Romans*, Sir, once as much Barbarians as our *Indians* now are, deified the Heroes that first taught them those Virtues, from whence the Grandeur of those renowned Nations wholly proceeded; a good Man, however, will feel more real Satisfaction and Pleasure, from the Sense of having any Way forwarded the Civilizing of a barbarous Nation, or of having multiplied the Number of good Men, than from the fondest Hopes of such extravagant Honours.

These Considerations, I believe, will induce you, Sir, to think a History of the *Five Nations* not unworthy of your Patronage; and on these only it is that I presume to offer

fer my beſt Endeavours in this, who am, with the greateſt Reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

Cadwallader Colden.

THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST PART.

THOUGH every one that is in the leaſt acquainted with the Affairs of North-America, *knows of what Conſequence the* Indians, *commonly known to the People of* New-York *by the Name of the* Five Nations, *are, both in Peace and War; I know of no Accounts of them, publiſhed in* Engliſh, *but what are very imperfect, and indeed meer Tranſlations of* French *Authors, who themſelves know little of the Truth. This ſeems to throw ſome Reflections on the Inhabitants of our Province, as if we wanted Curioſity to enquire into our own Affairs, and were willing to reſt ſatisfied with the Accounts the* French *give us of our own* Indians, *notwithſtanding that the* French *in* Canada *are always in a different Intereſt, and ſometimes in open Hoſtility with us. This Conſideration, I hope, will juſtify my attempting to write an Hiſtory of the* Five Nations *at this Time; and having had the Peruſal of the Minutes of the Commiſſioners for* Indian Affairs, *I have been enabled to collect many Materials for this Hiſtory, which are not to be found any where elſe;*

else; and cannot but think, that a History of this Kind will be of great Use to all the British *Colonies in* North-America, *since it may enable them to learn Experience at the Expence of others: And if I can contribute any Thing to so good a Purpose, I shall not think my Labour lost.*

It will be necessary for me here to say something in Excuse of two Things in the following Performance, which, I am afraid, will naturally be found Fault with in it. The first is, the filling up so great Part of the Work with the Adventures of small Parties, and sometimes with those of one single Man: And the second is, the inserting so many Speeches at length.

As to the first, the History of Indians *would be very lame, without an Account of these private Adventures; for their warlike Expeditions are almost always carried on by surprising each other, and their whole Art of War consists in managing small Parties. The whole Country being one continued Forest, gives great Advantages to these skulking Parties, and has obliged the Christians to imitate the* Indians *in this Method of making War among them. And some would, doubtless, be desirous to know the Manners and Customs of the* Indians, *in their publick Treaties especially, who could not be satisfied without taking Notice of several minute Circumstances, and Things otherwise of no Consequence. We are fond of searching into remote Antiquity, to know the Manners of our earliest Progenitors; and, if I am not mistaken, the* Indians *are living Images of them.*

My Design therefore in the second was, that thereby the Genius of the Indians *might appear. An Historian may paint Mens Actions in lively Colours, or in faint Shades, as he likes best, and in both Cases preserve a perfect Likeness; but it will be a difficult Task to shew the Wit, Judgment, Art, Simplicity, and Ignorance of the several Parties, managing a* Treaty, *in other Words than their own. As to my Part, I thought myself*

myself incapable of doing it, without depriving the judicious Observer of the Opportunity of discovering much of the Indian Genius, *by my contracting or paraphrasing their Harangues, and without committing often gross Mistakes. For, on these Occasions, a skilful Manager often talks confusedly, and obscurely, with Design; which if an Historian should endeavour to amend, the Reader would receive the History in a false Light.*

The Reader will find a great Difference between some of the Speeches here given of those made at Albany, *and those taken from the* French Authors. *Ours are genuine and truly related, as delivered by the sworn Interpreters, of whom Truth only is required; a rough Stile, with Truth, is preferable to Eloquence without it: This may be said in Justification of the* Indian *Expression, though I must own, that I suspect our Interpreters may not have done Justice to the* Indian *Eloquence. For the* Indians *having but few Words, and few complex Ideas, use many Metaphors in their Discourse, which interpreted by an unskilful Tongue, may appear mean, and strike our Imagination faintly; but under the Pen of a skilful Representer, might strongly move our Passions by their lively Images. I have heard an old* Indian Sachem *speak with much Vivacity and Elocution, so that the Speaker pleased and moved the Auditors with the Manner of delivering his Discourse; which however, as it afterwards came from the Interpreter, disappointed us in our Expectations. After the Speaker had employed a considerable Time in haranguing with much Elocution, the Interpreter often explained the whole by one single Sentence. I believe the Speaker, in that Time, embellished and adorned his Figures, that they might have their full Force on the Imagination, while the Interpreter contented himself with the Sense, in as few Words as it could be expressed.*

He that first writes the History of Things, which are not generally known, ought to avoid, as much as

possible, to make the Evidence of the Truth depend intirely on his own Veracity and Judgment; and for this Reason I have related several Transactions in the Words of the Registers, when this is once done, he that shall write afterwards, need not act with so much Caution.

The History of these Indians, *I promise myself, will give an agreeable Amusement to many; almost every one will find something in it suited to his own Palate; but every Line will not please every Man; on the contrary, one will naturally approve what another condemns, as one desires to know what another thinks not worth the Trouble of reading; for which Reason, I think, it is better to run the Risque of being sometimes tedious to certain Readers, than to omit any Thing that may be useful to the World.*

I have sometimes thought, that Histories wrote with all the Delicacy of a fine Romance, are like French *Dishes, more agreeable to the Palate than the Stomach, and less wholesome than more common and coarser Diet.*

An Historian's Views must be curious and extensive, and the History of different People and different Ages requires different Rules, and often different Abilities to write it; I hope therefore the Reader will, from these Considerations, receive this first Attempt of this kind, with more than usual Allowances.

The Inhabitants of New-York *have been much more concerned in the Transactions, which followed the Year* 1688, *than in those which preceded it. And as it requires uncommon Courage and Resolution to engage willingly in the Wars against a cruel and barbarous Enemy, I should be sorry to forget any that might deserve to be remembered by their Country, with Gratitude on that Occasion.*

A VO

A

VOCABULARY

OF

Some Words and Names used by the French *Authors, who treat of the* Indian *Affairs, which are different from the Names of the same People or Places, used or understood by the* English, *and may therefore be useful to those who intend to read the* French *Accounts, or compare them with the Accounts now published.*

Names used by the French.	*The same are called by the* English, *or by the* Five Nations.
ABenaguies.	OWenagungas, *or* New-England Indians, *and are sometimes called the* Eastern Indians.
Algonkins.	Adirondacks.
Amihouis.	Dionondadies, *or* Tuinondadeks, *a Branch or Tribe of the* Quatoghies.
Aniez.	Mohawks, *called likewise* Maquas.
Bay des Puans.	Enitajiche.
Chigagou.	Caneraghik.
Corlaer, *or* Corlard.	Schenectady. *But the* Five Nations *commonly call the Gover-*

Names uſed by the French.	*The ſame called by the* Engliſh, *or* Five Nations.
	Governor of New-York *by this Name, and often the People of the Province of* New-York *in general.*
Detroit.	Teuchſagrondie.
Hurons.	Quatoghie.
Hinois.	Chictaghicks.
Iroquois.	*The* Five Nations.
Lac Huron.	Caniatare, *or* Quatoghe lake.
Loups.	Scahkook Indians.
Manhattan.	New-York City.
Maſcoutecs.	Odiſlaſtagheks.
Mourigan.	Mahikander, *or* River Indians, *living on* Hudſon's *River, below* Albany.
Miamies.	Twightwies.
Miſſilimakinak.	Teiodondoraghie.
Miſſiſakies.	Achſiſaghecks.
Oneyouts.	Oneydoes.
Ontario lac.	Cadarackui Lake.
Orange.	Albany.
Outagamies.	Quackſies, *and* Scunkſiks.
Outawas.	Utawawas, *or* Dewagunhas.
Renards.	Quakſies.
Sauiteurs.	Eſtiaghicks.
Shaouonons.	Satanas.
Tateras.	Toderiks.
Terre rouge.	Scunkſik.
Tongorias.	Erighecks.
Tſonontouans.	Senekas.

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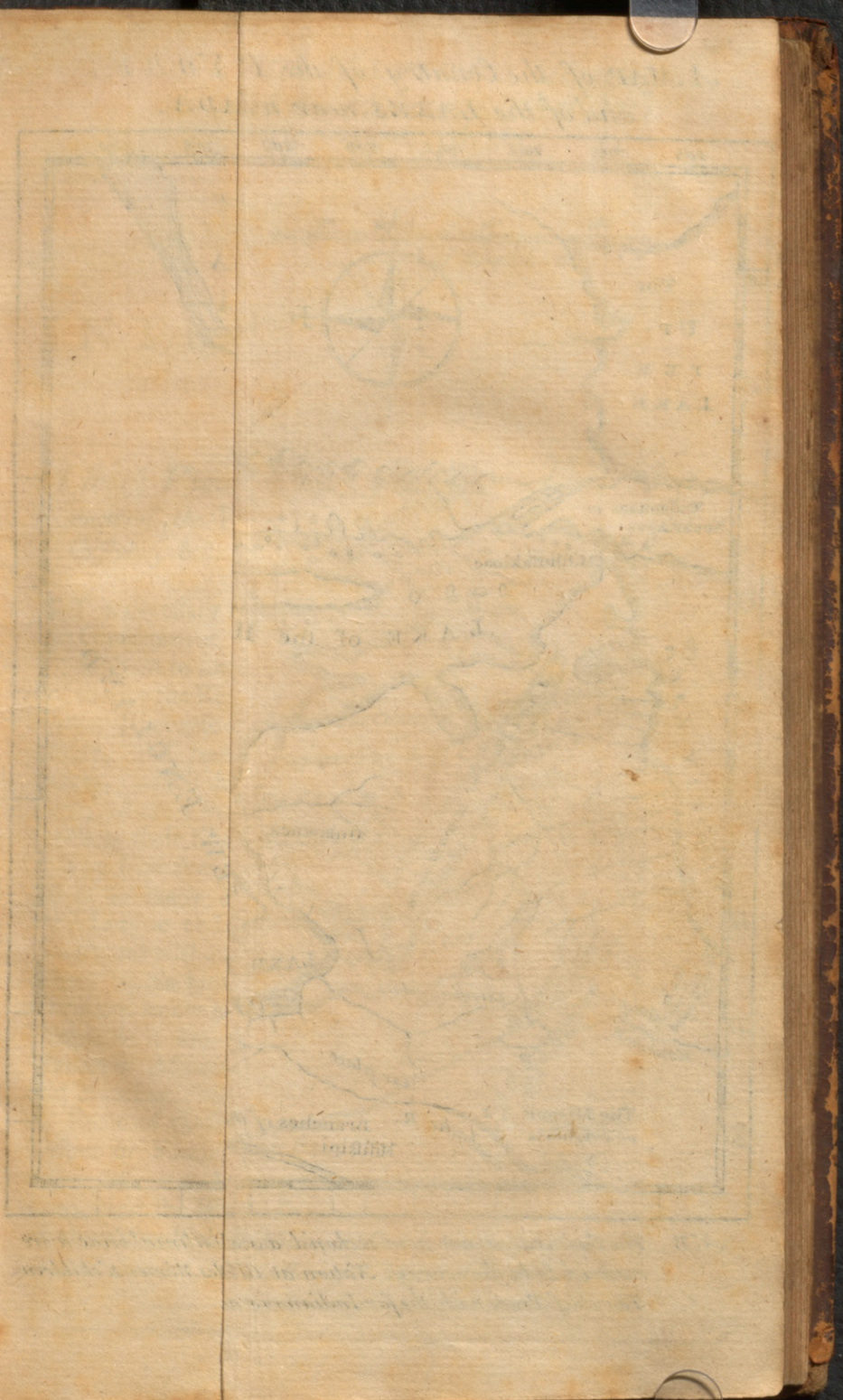
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A MAP of the Country of the FIVE NATIONS, belonging to the Province of NEW YORK; and of the LAKES near which the Nations of FAR INDIANS live, with part of CANADA.



N.B. The Tuscaroras are now reckon'd a sixth Nation, & live between the Onondagues & Oneidos; & the Necariages of Misilimakinac were received to be the seventh Nation at Albany, May 30th 1723; at their own desire, 80 Men of that Nation being present besides Women & children. The chief Trade with the far Indians is at the Onondagues rivers mouth where they must all pass to go towards Canada.

THE INTRODUCTION, BEING

A ſhort View of the Form of Government of the Five Nations, *and of their Laws, Cuſtoms,* &c.

IT is neceſſary to know ſomething of the Form of Government of the People, whoſe Hiſtory one is about to know, and a few Words will be ſufficient to give the Reader a Conception of that of the *Five Nations*, becauſe it ſtill remains under original Simplicity, and free from thoſe complicated Contrivances, which have become neceſſary to the Nations, where Deceit and Cunning have increaſed as much as their Knowledge and Wiſdom.

The *Five Nations* (as their Name denotes) conſiſt of ſo many Tribes or Nations, joined together by a League or Confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, and without any Superiority of the one over the other. This Union has continued ſo long, that the Chriſtians know nothing of the Original of it: The People in it are known by the *Engliſh* under the Names of *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Sennekas*.

Each of theſe Nations is again divided into three Tribes or Families, who diſtinguiſh themſelves by three different Arms or Enſigns, the *Tortoiſe*, the *Bear*, and the *Wolf*; and the *Sachems*, or old Men of theſe Families, put this Enſign, or Mark of their

Family, to every publick Paper, when they ſign it.

Each of theſe Nations is an abſolute Republick by itſelf, and every Caſtle in each Nation makes an independent Republick, and is govern'd in all publick Affairs by its own *Sachems* or old Men. The Authority of theſe Rulers is gain'd by, and conſiſts wholly in the Opinion the reſt of the Nation have of their Wiſdom and Integrity. They never execute their Reſolutions by Force upon any of their People. Honour and Eſteem are their principal Rewards; as Shame, and being deſpiſed, their Puniſhments. They have certain Cuſtoms, which they obſerve in their publick Tranſactions with other Nations, and in their private Affairs among themſelves; which it is ſcandalous for any one among them not to obſerve, and theſe always draw after them either publick or private Reſentment, whenever they are broke.

Their Leaders and Captains, in like Manner, obtain their Authority, by the general Opinion of their Courage and Conduct, and loſe it by a failure in thoſe Virtues.

Their great Men, both Sachems and Captains, are generally poorer than the common People; for they affect to give away and diſtribute all the Preſents or Plunder they get in their Treaties or in War, ſo as to leave nothing to themſelves. There is not a Man in the Miniſtry of the *Five Nations*, who has gain'd his Office, otherwiſe than by Merit; there is not the leaſt Salary, or any Sort of Profit, annexed to any Office, to tempt the Covetous or Sordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy Action is unavoidably attended with the Forfeiture of their Commiſſion; for their Authority is only the Eſteem of the People, and ceaſes the Moment that Eſteem is loſt. Here we ſee the natural Origin of all Power and Authority among a free People, and whatever artificial Power or Sovereignty any Man may have acquired, by the Laws and Conſtitution of a Country, his real Power will

be

be ever much greater or leſs, in Proportion to the Eſteem the People have of him.

The *Five Nations* think themſelves by Nature ſuperior to the reſt of Mankind, and call themſelves *Ongue-honwe*; that is, Men ſurpaſſing all others. This Opinion, which they take Care to cultivate into their Children, gives them that Courage, which has been ſo terrible to all the Nations of *North America*; and they have taken ſuch Care to impreſs the ſame Opinion of their People on all their Neighbours, that they, on all Occaſions, yield the moſt ſubmiſſive Obedience to them. I have been told by old Men in *New England*, who remembred the Time when the *Mohawks* made War on their *Indians*, that as ſoon as a ſingle *Mohawk* was diſcover'd in the Country, their *Indians* raiſed a Cry from Hill to Hill, *A Mohawk! A Mohawk!* upon which they all fled like Sheep before Wolves, without attempting to make the leaſt Reſiſtance, whatever Odds were on their Side. The poor *New England Indians* immediately ran to the Chriſtian Houſes, and the *Mohawks* often purſued them ſo cloſely, that they entered along with them, and knocked their Brains out in the Preſence of the People of the Houſe; but if the Family had Time to ſhut the Door, they never attempted to force it, and on no Occaſion did any Injury to the Chriſtians. All the Nations round them have, for many Years, intirely ſubmitted to them, and pay a yearly Tribute to them in *Wampum* *; they dare neither make War nor Peace, with-

* *Wampum* is the Current Money among the *Indians*: It is of two Sorts, White and Purple; the White is worked out of the Inſide of the great Conques into the Form of a Bead, and perforated, to ſtring on Leather; the Purple is worked out of the Inſide of the Muſcle Shell; they are wove as broad as one's Hand, and about two Feet long; theſe they call Belts, and give and receive at their Treaties as the Seals of Friendſhip; for leſſer Matters a ſingle String is given. Every Bead is of a known Value, and a Belt of a leſs Number, is made to equal one of a greater, by ſo many as is wanting faſtened to the Belt by a String.

out the Consent of the *Mohawks*. Two old Men commonly go about every Year or two, to receive this Tribute; and I have often had Opportunity to observe what Anxiety the poor *Indians* were under, while these two old Men remained in that Part of the Country where I was. An old *Mohawk Sachem*, in a poor Blanket and a dirty Shirt, may be seen issuing his Orders with as arbitrary an Authority, as a *Roman* Dictator. It is not for the Sake of Tribute however, that they make War, but from the Notions of Glory, which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their Minds; and the farther they go to seek an Enemy, the greater Glory they think they gain; there cannot, I think, be a greater or stronger Instance than this, how much the Sentiments, impressed upon a People's Mind, conduce to their Grandeur, or one that more verifies a Saying often to be met with, though but too little minded, That it is in the Power of the Rulers of a People to make them either Great or Little; for by inculcating only the Notions of Honour and Virtue, or those of Luxury and Riches, the People, in a little Time, will become such as their Rulers desire. The *Five Nations*, in their Love of Liberty, and of their Country, in their Bravery in Battle, and their Constancy in enduring Torments, equal the Fortitude of the most renowned *Romans*. I shall finish their general Character by what an Enemy, a *Frenchman*, says of them, *Monsieur De la Poterie*, in his History of *North America*.

"When we speak (says he) of the *Five Nations* "in *France*, they are thought, by a common Mis- "take, to be mere Barbarians, always thirsting af- "ter human Blood; but their true Character is very "different. They are indeed the fiercest and most for- "midable People in *North America*, and, at the same "Time, are as politick and judicious, as well can "be conceived; and this appears from the Manage- "ment of all the Affairs which they transact, not only "with the *French* and *English*, but likewise with al-

" moſt all the *Indian* Nations of this vaſt Conti-
" nent."

Their Matters of Conſequence, which concern all the Nations, are tranſacted in a general Meeting of the *Sachems* of each Nation. Theſe Conventions are commonly held at *Onnondaga*, which is nearly the Center of their Country; but they have fixed on *Albany* for the Place of treating with the *Britiſh Colonies*.

They ſtrictly follow one Maxim, formerly uſed by the *Romans* to increaſe their Strength, that is, they encourage the People of other Nations to incorporate with them; and when they have ſubdued any People, after they have ſatiated their Revenge by ſome cruel Examples, they adopt the reſt of their Captives; who, if they behave well, become equally eſteemed with their own People; ſo that ſome of their Captives have afterwards become their greateſt *Sachems* and *Captains*. The *Tuſkaroras*, after the War they had with the People of *Carolina*, fled to the *Five Nations*, and are now incorporated with them; ſo that they now properly indeed conſiſt of ſix Nations, though they ſtill retain the old Name of the *Five Nations* among the *Engliſh*. The *Cowetas* alſo, or *Creek-Indians*, are in the ſame Friendſhip with them.

The *Tuſkaroras*, ſince they came under the Province of *New York*, behave themſelves well, and remain peaceable and quiet; and by this may be ſeen the Advantage of uſing the *Indians* well, and I believe, if they were ſtill better uſed (as there is Room enough to do it) they would be proportionably more uſeful to us.

The Cruelty the *Indians* uſe in their Wars, towards thoſe that do not or cannot reſiſt, ſuch as Women and Children, and to their Priſoners, after they have them in their Power, is deſervedly indeed held in Abhorrence: But whoever reads the Hiſtory of the ſo famed ancient Heroes, will find them, I'm afraid, not much better in this Reſpect. Does *Achilles*'s Behaviour to *Hector*'s dead Body, in *Homer*, appear leſs

ſavage? This Cruelty is alſo not peculiar to the *Five Nations*, but equally practiſed by all other *Indians*. It is wonderful, how Cuſtom and Education are able to ſoften the moſt horrid Actions, even among a polite and learned People; witneſs the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* burning their own Children alive in Sacrifice; and ſeveral Paſſages in the *Jewiſh Hiſtory*; and witneſs, in later Times, the Chriſtians burning one another alive, for God's Sake.

When any of the young Men of theſe Nations have a Mind to ſignalize themſelves, and to gain a Reputation among their Countrymen, by ſome notable Enterprize againſt their Enemy, they at firſt communicate their Deſign to two or three of their moſt intimate Friends; and if they come into it, an Invitation is made, in their Names, to all the young Men of the Caſtle, to feaſt on Dog's Fleſh; but whether this be, becauſe Dog's Fleſh is moſt agreeable to *Indian* Palates, or whether it be as an Emblem of Fidelity, for which the Dog is diſtinguiſhed by all Nations, that it is always uſed on this Occaſion, I have not ſufficient Information to determine. When the Company is met, the Promoters of the Enterprize ſet forth the Undertaking in the beſt Colours they can; they boaſt of what they intend to do, and incite others to join, from the Glory there is to be obtained; and all who eat of the Dog's Fleſh, thereby inliſt themſelves.

The Night before they ſet out, they make a grand Feaſt, to this all the noted Warriors of the Nation are invited; and here they have their War Dance, to the Beat of a Kind of a Kettle-drum. The Warriors are ſeated in two Rows in the Houſe, and each riſes up in his Turn, and ſings the great Acts he has himſelf performed, and the Deeds of his Anceſtors; and this is always accompanied with a Kind of a Dance, or rather Action, repreſenting the Manner in which they were performed; and from Time to Time, all preſent join in a Chorus, applauding every notable Act. They exaggerate

exaggerate the Injuries they have at any Time received from their Enemies, and extol the Glory which any of their Anceſtors have gained by their Bravery and Courage; ſo that they work up their Spirits to a high Degree of warlike Enthuſiaſm. I have ſometimes perſuaded ſome of their young *Indians* to act theſe Dances, for our Diverſion, and to ſhew us the Manner of them; and even, on theſe Occaſions, they have work'd themſelves up to ſuch a Pitch, that they have made all preſent uneaſy. Is it not probable, that ſuch Deſigns as theſe have given the firſt Riſe to Tragedy?

They come to theſe Dances with their Faces painted in a frightful Manner, as they always are when they go to War, to make themſelves terrible to their Enemies; and in this Manner the Night is ſpent. Next Day they march out with much Formality, dreſſed in their fineſt Apparel, and, in their March, obſerve a profound Silence. An Officer of the regular Troops told me, that while he was Commandant of *Fort-Hunter*, the *Mohawks*, on one of theſe Occaſions, told him, that they expected the uſual military Honours as they paſſed the Gariſon. Accordingly he drew out his Gariſon, the Men preſented their Pieces as the *Indians* paſſed, and the Drum beat a March; and with leſs Reſpect, the Officer ſaid, they would have been diſſatisfied. The *Indians* paſſed in a ſingle Row, one after another, with great Gravity and profound Silence; and every one of them, as he paſſed the Officer, took his Gun from his Shoulder, and fired into the Ground near the Officer's Foot: They marched in this Manner three or four Miles from their Caſtle. The Women, on theſe Occaſions, always follow them with their old Clothes, and they ſend back by them their Finery in which they marched from the Caſtle. But before they go from this Place, where they exchange their Clothes, they always peel a large Piece of the Bark from ſome great Tree; they commonly

chuſe an Oak, as moſt laſting; upon the ſmooth Side of this Wood they, with their red Paint, draw one or more Canoes, going from Home, with the Number of Men in them padling, which go upon the Expedition; and ſome Animal, as a Deer or Fox, an Emblem of the Nation againſt which the Expedition is deſigned, is painted at the Head of the Canoes; for they always travel in Canoes along the Rivers, which lead to the Country againſt which the Expedition is deſigned, as far as they can.

After the Expedition is over, they ſtop at the ſame Place in their Return, and ſend to their Caſtle, to inform their Friends of their Arrival; that they may be prepared to give them a ſolemn Reception, ſuited to the Succeſs they have had. In the mean Time, they repreſent on the ſame, or ſome Tree near it, the Event of the Enterprize, and now the Canoes are painted with their Heads turned towards the Caſtle; the Number of the Enemy killed, is repreſented by Scalps painted black, and the Number of Priſoners by as many Withs, (in their Painting not unlike Pothooks) with which they uſually pinion their Captives. Theſe Trees are the Annals, or rather Trophies of the *Five Nations:* I have ſeen many of them; and by them, and their War Songs, they preſerve the Hiſtory of their great Atchievements. The ſolemn Reception of theſe Warriors, and the Acclamations of Applauſe, which they receive at their Return, cannot but have in the Hearers the ſame Effect, in raiſing an Emulation for Glory, that a Triumph had on the old *Romans*.

After their Priſoners are ſecured, they never offer them the leaſt Male-treatment, but, on the contrary, will rather ſtarve themſelves, than ſuffer them to want; and I have been always aſſured, that there is not one Inſtance, of their offering the leaſt Violence to the Chaſtity of any Woman that was their Captive. But notwithſtanding this, the poor Priſoners afterwards undergo ſevere Puniſhments before they receive

receive the laſt Doom of Life or Death. The Warriors think it for their Glory, to lead them through all the Villages of the Nations ſubject to them, which lie near the Road; and theſe, to ſhew their Affection to the *Five Nations*, and their Abhorrence of their Enemies, draw up in two Lines, through which the poor Priſoners, ſtark naked, muſt run the Gauntlet; and on this Occaſion, it is always obſerved, the Women are much more cruel than the Men. The Priſoners meet with the ſame ſad Reception when they reach their Journey's End; and after this, they are preſented to thoſe that have loſt any Relation in that or any former Enterprize. If the Captives be accepted, there is an End to their Sorrow from that Moment; they are dreſſed as fine as they can make them; they are abſolutely free (except to return to their own Country) and enjoy all the Privileges the Perſon had, in whoſe Place they are accepted; but if otherwiſe they die in Torments, to ſatiate the Revenge of thoſe that refuſe them.

If a young Man or Boy be received in Place of a Huſband that was killed, all the Children of the Deceaſed call that Boy Father; ſo that one may ſometimes hear a Man of thirty ſay, that ſuch a Boy of fifteen or twenty is his Father.

Their Caſtles are generally a Square ſurrounded with Paliſadoes, without any Baſtions or Out-works; for, ſince the general Peace, their Villages lie all open.

Their only Inſtruments of War are Muſquets, Hatchets, and long ſharp pointed Knives; theſe they always carry about with them: Their Hatchet, in War-time, is ſtuck in their Girdle behind them; and beſides what Uſe they make of this Weapon in their Hand, they have a dexterous Way of throwing it, which I have ſeen them often practiſe in their Exerciſe, by throwing it into a Tree at a Diſtance: They have, in this, the Art of directing and regulating the Motion, ſo that though the Hatchet turns round

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as it flies, the Edge always ſticks in the Tree, and near the Place at which they aim it. The Uſe of Bows and Arrows are now intirely laid aſide, except among the Boys, who are ſtill very dexterous in killing Fowls and other Animals with them.

They uſe neither Drum nor Trumpet, nor any Kind of muſical Inſtrument in their Wars; their Throats ſerve them on all Occaſions, where ſuch are neceſſary. Many of them have a ſurpriſing Faculty of raiſing their Voice, not only in inarticulate Sounds, but likewiſe to make their Words underſtood at a great Diſtance; and we find the ſame was practiſed by *Homer*'s Heroes,

Thrice to its Pitch his lofty Voice he rears,——
O Friend! Ulyſſes *Shouts invade my Ears.*

The *Five Nations* have ſuch abſolute Notions of Liberty, that they allow of no Kind of Superiority of one over another, and baniſh all Servitude from their Territories. They never make any Priſoner a Slave; but it is cuſtomary among them to make a Compliment of Naturalization into the *Five Nations*; and, conſidering how highly they value themſelves above all others, this muſt be no ſmall Compliment. This is not done by any general Act of the Nation, but every ſingle Perſon has a Right to do it, by a Kind of Adoption. The firſt Time I was among the *Mohawks*, I had this Compliment from one of their old *Sachems*, which he did, by giving me his own Name, *Cayenderongue*. He had been a notable Warrior; and he told me, that now I had a Right to aſſume to myſelf all the Acts of Valour he had performed, and that now my Name would echo from Hill to Hill all over the *Five Nations*. As for my Part, I thought no more of it at that Time, than as an Artifice to draw a Belly full of ſtrong Liquor from me, for himſelf and his Companions; but when about ten or twelve Years afterwards, my Buſineſs led me again among them, I direct-

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ed the Interpreter to ſay ſomething from me to the *Sachems*; he was for ſome Time at a Loſs to underſtand their Anſwer, till he had aſked me whether I had any Name among them: I then found that I was really known to them by that Name, and that the old *Sachem*, from the Time he had given me his Name, had aſſumed another to himſelf. I was adopted, at that Time, into the Tribe of the *Bear*, and, for that Reaſon, I often afterwards had the kind Compliment of *Brother Bear*.

The Hoſpitality of theſe *Indians* is no leſs remarkable, than their other Virtues; as ſoon as any Stranger comes, they are ſure to offer him Victuals. If there be ſeveral in Company, and come from a-far, one of their beſt Houſes is cleaned and given up for their Entertainment. Their Complaiſance, on theſe Occaſions, goes even farther than Chriſtian Civility allows of, as they have no other Rule for it, than the furniſhing their Gueſt with every Thing they think will be agreeable to him; for this Reaſon, ſome of their prettieſt Girls are always ordered to waſh themſelves, and dreſs in their beſt Apparel, in Order to be preſented to the Stranger, for his Choice; and the young Lady, who has the Honour to be preferred on theſe Occaſions, performs all the Duties of a fond Wife, during the Stranger's Stay: But this laſt Piece of Hoſpitality is now either laid aſide by the *Mohawks*, or, at leaſt, they never offer it to any Chriſtian. This Nation indeed has laid aſide many of its ancient Cuſtoms, and ſo likewiſe have the other Nations, with whom we are beſt acquainted; and have adopted many of ours; ſo that it is not eaſy now to diſtinguiſh their original and genuine Manners, from thoſe which they have lately acquired; and for this Reaſon it is, that they now ſeldom offer Victuals to Perſons of any Diſtinction, becauſe they know, that their Food and Cookery is not agreeable to our delicate Palates. Their Men value themſelves, in having all Kind of Food in equal Eſteem. A *Mohawk Sachem* told

told me with a Kind of Pride, That a Man eats every Thing without Diſtinction, *Bears*, *Cats*, *Dogs*, *Snakes*, *Frogs*, &c. intimating, that it is Womaniſh, to have any Delicacy in the Choice of Food.

I can however give two ſtrong Inſtances of the Hoſpitality of the *Mohawks*, which fell under my own Obſervation; and which ſhew, that they have the very ſame Notion of Hoſpitality, which we find in the ancient Poets. When I was laſt in the *Mohawks* Country, the *Sachems* told me, that they had an *Engliſhman* among their People, a Servant who had run from his Maſter in *New York*. I immmediately told them, that they muſt deliver him up. No, they anſwered, we never ſerve any Man ſo, who puts himſelf under our Protection. On this I inſiſted on the Injury they did thereby to his Maſter; and they allowed it might be an Injury, and replied, though we never will deliver him up, we are willing to pay the Value of the Servant to the Maſter. Another Man made his Eſcape from the Goal of *Albany*, where he was in Priſon on an Execution for Debt; the *Mohawks* received him, and, as they protected him againſt the Sheriff and his Officers, they not only paid the Debt for him, but gave him Land, over and above ſufficient for a good Farm, whereon he lived when I was laſt there. To this it may be added, all their extraordinary Viſits are accompanied with giving and receiving Preſents of ſome Value; as we learn likewiſe from *Homer* was the Practice in old Times.

Polygamy is not uſual among them; and indeed, in any Nation, where all are on a Par, as to Riches and Power, Plurality of Wives cannot well be introduced. As all Kind of Slavery is baniſhed from the Countries of the *Five Nations*, ſo they keep themſelves free alſo from the Bondage of Wedlock; and when either of the Parties becomes diſguſted, they ſeparate without Formality or Ignominy to either, unleſs it be occaſioned by ſome ſcandalous Offence in one

one of them. And in Caſe of Divorce, the Children, according to the natural Courſe of all Animals, follow the Mother. The Women here bring forth their Children with as much Eaſe as other Animals, and without the Help of a Midwife, and, ſoon after their Delivery, return to their uſual Employment. They alone alſo perform all the Drudgery about their Houſes, they plant their Corn, and labour it, in every Reſpect, till it is brought to the Table: They likewiſe cut all their Fire-wood, and bring it Home on their Backs, and in their Marches bear the Burdens. The Men diſdain all Kind of Labour, and employ themſelves alone in Hunting, as the only proper Buſineſs for Soldiers. At Times, when it is not proper to hunt, one finds the *old Men* in Companies, in Converſation; the young Men at their Exerciſes, ſhooting at Marks, throwing the Hatchet, Wreſtling, or Running, and the Women all buſy at Labour in the Fields.

On theſe Occaſions, the State of *Lacedæmon* ever occurs to my Mind, which that of the *Five Nations*, in many Reſpects, reſembles; their Laws, or Cuſtoms, being, in both, form'd to render the Minds and Bodies of the People fit for War.

Theft is very ſcandalous among them; and it is neceſſary it ſhould be ſo among all *Indians*, ſince they have no Locks, but thoſe of their Minds, to preſerve their Goods.

There is one Vice which the *Indians* have all fallen into, ſince their Acquaintance with the *Chriſtians*, and of which they could not be guilty before that Time, that is, Drunkenneſs: It is ſtrange, how all the *Indian* Nations, and almoſt every Perſon among them, Male and Female, are infatuated with the Love of ſtrong Drink; they know no Bounds to their Deſire, while they can ſwallow it down, and then indeed the greateſt Man among them ſcarcely deſerves the Name of a Brute.

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They never have been taught to conquer any Paſſion, but by ſome contrary Paſſion; and the Traders, with whom they chiefly converſe, are ſo far from giving them any Abhorrence of this Vice, that they encourage it all they can, not only for the Profit of the Liquor they ſell, but that they may have an Opportunity to impoſe upon them. And this, as they chiefly drink Spirits, has deſtroyed greater Numbers, than all their Wars and Diſeaſes put together.

The People of the *Five Nations* are much given to *Speech-making*, ever the natural Conſequence of a perfect Republican Government: Where no ſingle Perſon has a Power to compel, the Arts of Perſuaſion alone muſt prevail. As their beſt Speakers diſtinguiſh themſelves in their publick Councils and Treaties with other Nations, and thereby gain the Eſteem and Applauſe of their Countrymen, (the only Superiority which any one of them has over the others) it is probable they apply themſelves to this Art, by ſome Kind of Study and Exerciſe, in a great Meaſure. It is impoſſible for me to judge how far they excel, as I am ignorant of their Language; but the Speakers whom I have heard, had all a great Fluency of Words, and much more Grace in their Manner, than any Man could expect, among a People intirely ignorant of all the liberal Arts and Sciences.

I am inform'd, that they are very nice in the Turn of their Expreſſions, and that few of themſelves are ſo far Maſters of their Language, as never to offend the Ears of their *Indian* Auditory, by an unpolite Expreſſion. They have, it ſeems, a certain *Urbanitas*, or *Atticiſm*, in their Language, of which the common Ears are ever ſenſible, though only their great Speakers attain to it. They are ſo much given to Speech-making, that their common Complements, to any Perſon they reſpect, at meeting and parting, are made in Harangues.

They have some Kind of Elegancy in varying and compounding their Words, to which, not many of themselves attain, and this principally distinguishes their best Speakers. I have endeavoured to get some Account of this, as a Thing that might be acceptable to the Curious; but, as I have not met with any one Person who understands their Language, and also knows any Thing of Grammar, or of the learned Languages, I have not been able to attain the least Satisfaction. Their present Minister tells me, that their Verbs are varied, but in a Manner so different from the *Greek* or *Latin*, that he cannot discover by what Rule it was done; and even suspects, that every Verb has a peculiar Mode: They have but few radical Words, but they compound their Words without End; by this their Language becomes sufficiently copious, and leaves Room for a good Deal of Art to please a delicate Ear. Sometimes one Word among them includes an entire Definition of the Thing; for Example, they call *Wine Oneharadesehoengtseragherie*, as much as to say, *a Liquor made of the Juice of the Grape.* The Words expressing Things lately come to their Knowledge are all Compounds: They have no Labeals in their Language, nor can they pronounce perfectly any Word wherein there is a Labeal; and when one endeavours to teach them to pronounce these Words, they tell one, they think it ridiculous that they must shut their Lips to speak. Their Language abounds with Gutturals and strong Aspirations, these make it very sonorous and bold; and their Speeches abound with Metaphors, after the Manner of the Eastern Nations, as will best appear by the Speeches that I have copied.

As to what *religious Notions* they have, it is difficult to judge of them; because the *Indians*, that speak any *English*, and live near us, have learned many Things of us; and it is not easy to distinguish the Notions they had originally among themselves, from

from thoſe they have learned of the *Chriſtians*. It is certain they have no Kind of publick Worſhip, and I am told that they have no radical Word to expreſs *God*, but uſe a compound Word, ſignifying the Preſerver, Suſtainer, or Maſter of the Univerſe; neither could I ever learn what Sentiments they have of a future Exiſtence. Their funeral Rites ſeem to be formed upon a Notion of ſome Kind of Exiſtence after Death: They make a large round Hole, in which the Body can be placed upright, or upon its Haunches, which after the Body is placed in it, is covered with Timber, to ſupport the Earth which they lay over, and thereby keep the Body free from being preſſed; they then raiſe the Earth in a round Hill over it. They always dreſs the Corps in all its Finery, and put Wampum and other Things into the Grave with it; and the Relations ſuffer not Graſs or any Weed to grow on the Grave, and frequently viſit it with Lamentations: But whether theſe Things be done only as Marks of Reſpect to the Deceaſed, or from a Notion of ſome Kind of Exiſtence after Death, muſt be left to the Judgment of the Reader.

They are very ſuperſtitious in obſerving Omens and Dreams; I have obſerved them ſhew a ſuperſtitious Awe of the Owl, and be highly diſpleaſed with ſome that mimicked the Cry of that Bird in the Night. An Officer of the regular Troops has informed me alſo, that while he had the Command of the Garriſon at *Oſwego*, a Boy of one of the far Weſtward Nations died there; the Parents made a regular Pile of ſplit Wood, laid the Corps upon it, and burnt it; while the Pile was burning, they ſtood gravely looking on, without any Lamentation, but when it was burnt down, they gathered up the Bones with many Tears, put them into a Box, and carried them away with them; and this Inclination, which all ignorant People have to Superſtition and amuſing Ceremonies, gives the Popiſh Prieſts a great Advantage

tage in recommending their Religion, beyond what the Regularity of the Proteſtant Doctrine allows of.

Queen *Anne* ſent over a Miſſionary to reſide among the *Mohawks*, and allowed him a ſufficient Subſiſtence from the privy Purſe; ſhe ſent Furniture for a Chappel, and a valuable ſet of Plate for the Communion Table; and (if I am not miſtaken) the like Furniture and Plate for each of the other Nations, though that of the *Mohawks* was only applied to the Uſe deſigned. The common Prayer, or at leaſt a conſiderable Part of it, was tranſlated alſo into their Language and printed; ſome other Pieces were likewiſe tranſlated for the Miniſter's Uſe, *viz.* An Expoſition of the Creed, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Church Catechiſm, and a Diſcourſe on the Sacraments. But as that Miniſter was never able to attain any tolerable Knowledge of their Language, and was naturally a heavy Man, he had but ſmall Succeſs; and his Allowance failing, by the Queen's Death, he left them. Theſe Nations had no Teacher, from that Time, till within theſe few Years, that a young Gentleman, out of pious Zeal, went voluntarily among the *Mohawks*. He was at firſt intirely ignorant of their Language, and had no Interpreter, except one of the *Indians*, who underſtood a little *Engliſh*, and had, in the late Miſſionary's Time, learn'd to read and write in his own Language. He learned from him how to pronounce the Words in the Tranſlations, which had been made for the late Miſſionary's Uſe. He ſet up a School, to teach their Children to read and write their own Language; and they made ſurprizing Proficiency, conſidering their Maſter did not underſtand their Language. I happened to be in the *Mohawk* Country, and ſaw ſeveral of their Performances; I was preſent at their Worſhip, where they went through ſome Part of the Common Prayer with great Decency. I was likewiſe preſent, ſeveral Times, at their private Devotions, which ſome of them performed duly,

Morning and Evening. I had alſo many Opportunities of obſerving the great Regard they had for this young Man; ſo far, that the Fear of his leaving them made the greateſt Reſtraint on them, with which he threatened them, after they had been guilty of any Offence. Soon after that Time, this Gentleman went to *England*, received Orders, and was ſent by the Society, Miſſionary to *Albany*, with Liberty to ſpend ſome Part of his Time among the *Mohawks*.

I had lately a Letter from him, dated the ſeventh of *December*, 1641, in which he writes as follows: "Drunkenneſs was ſo common among them, that I "doubt, whether there was one grown Perſon of "either Sex free from it; ſeldom a Day paſſed, "without ſome, and very often forty or fifty being "drunk at a Time. But I found they were very fond "of keeping me among them, and afraid I ſhould "leave them, which I made Uſe of to good Purpoſe; daily threatning them with my Departure, "in Caſe they did not forſake that Vice, and frequently requiring a particular Promiſe from them "ſingly; by which Means (through God's Bleſſing) "there was a gradual Reformation; and I know "not that I have ſeen above ten or twelve Perſons "drunk among them this Summer. The Women "are almoſt all entirely reformed, and the Men "very much. They have intirely left off Divorces, "and are legally married. They are very conſtant "and devout at church and Family Devotions. "They have not been known to exereiſe Cruelty to "Priſoners, and have, in a great Meaſure, left off "going a fighting, which I find the moſt difficult, "of all Things, to diſſuade them from. They ſeem "alſo perſuaded of the Truths of Chriſtianity. The "greateſt Inconveniency I labour under, is the Want "of an Interpreter, which could I obtain, for two "or three Years, I ſhould hope to be tolerably

"Maſter

" Maſter of their Language, and be able to render " it eaſier to my Succeſſor."

This Gentleman's uncommon Zeal deſerves, I think, this publick Teſtimony, that it may be a Means of his receiving ſuch Encouragement, as may enable him to purſue the pious Purpoſes he has in View.

The *Mohawks*, were they civilized, may be uſeful to us many Ways, and, on many Occaſions, more than any of our own People can be; and this well deſerves to be conſidered.

There is one Cuſtom their Men conſtantly obſerve, which I muſt not forget to mention; That if they be ſent with any Meſſage, though it demand the greateſt Diſpatch, or though they bring Intelligence of any imminent Danger, they never tell it at their firſt Approach; but ſit down for a Minute or two, at leaſt, in Silence, to recollect themſelves, before they ſpeak, that they may not ſhew any Degree of Fear or Surprize, by an indecent Expreſſion. Every ſudden Repartee, in a publick Treaty, leaves with them an Impreſſion of a light inconſiderate Mind; but, in private Converſation, they uſe, and are delighted with briſk witty Anſwers, as we can be. By this they ſhew the great Difference they place between the Converſations of Man and Man, and of Nation and Nation; and in this, and a thouſand other Things, might well be an Example to the *European* Nations.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIVE *INDIAN* NATIONS, DEPENDING On the PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK.*

PART I.

The History of the Five Nations, *from the Time the Christians first knew any Thing of them, to that of the Revolution in* Great-Britain.

CHAP. I.

Of the Wars of the Five Nations *with the* Adirondacks *and* Quatoghies.

THE first Settlers of *New-York* having been little curious in inquiring into the *Indian Affairs*, further than what related to Trade; or, at leaſt, having neglected to tranſmit their Diſcoveries to Poſterity, it is much more difficult to give a juſt Hiſtory of theſe Nations before, than ſince the Time of their being under the *Crown of*

CHAP. I.

England. What we can learn of Certainty, however, is this. The *French* ſettled at *Canada* in the Year 1603, ſix Years before the *Dutch* poſſeſſed themſelves of *New-Netherlands*, now called *New-York*, and found the *Five Nations* at War with the *Adirondacks*, which, they tell us, was occaſioned in the following Manner.

The *Adirondacks* formerly lived three-hundred Miles above *Trois Rivieres*, where now the *Utawawas* are ſituated; at that Time they employ'd themſelves wholly in Hunting, and the *Five Nations* made planting of Corn their Buſineſs. By this Means they became uſeful to each other, by exchanging Corn for Veniſon. The *Adirondacks*, however, valued themſelves, as delighting in a more manly Employment, and deſpiſed the *Five Nations*, in following Buſineſs, which they thought only fit for Women. But it once happened, that the Game failed the *Adirondacks*, which made them deſire ſome of the young Men of the *Five Nations* to aſſiſt them in Hunting. Theſe young Men ſoon became much more expert in Hunting, and able to endure Fatigues, than the *Adirondacks* expected or deſired; in ſhort, they became jealous of them, and, one Night, murdered all the young Men they had with them. The *Five Nations* complained to the Chiefs of the *Adirondacks*, of the Inhumanity of this Action; but they contented themſelves with blaming the Murderers, and ordered them to make ſome ſmall † Preſents to the Relations of the murdered Perſons, without being apprehenſive of the Reſentment of the *Five Nations*; for they looked upon them, as Men not capable of taking any great Revenge.

This however provoked the *Five Nations* to that Degree, that they ſoon reſolved, by ſome Means, to be revenged; and the *Adirondacks* being informed

† It is ſtill a Cuſtom among the *Indians*, to expiate Murder by Preſents to the Relations of the Perſon killed.

of

of their Designs, thought to prevent them, by re-ducing them with Force to their Obedience. CHAP. I.

The *Five Nations* then lived near where *Mont Real* now stands; they defended themselves at first but faintly against the vigorous Attacks of the *Adirondacks*, and were forced to leave their own Country, and fly to the Banks of the Lakes where they live now. As they were hitherto Losers by the War, it obliged them to apply themselves to the Exercise of Arms, in which they became daily more and more expert. Their *Sachems*, in order to raise their People's Spirits, turned them against the * *Satanas*, a less warlike Nation, who then lived on the Banks of the Lakes; for they found it was difficult to remove the Dread their People had of the Valour of the *Adirondacks*. The *Five Nations* soon subdued the *Satanas*, and drove them out of their Country; and their People's Courage being thus elevated, they, from this Time, not only defended themselves bravely against the whole Force of the *Adirondacks*, but often carried the War into the Heart of the *Adirondacks*'s Country, and, at last, forced them to leave it, and to fly into that Part of the Country, where *Quebeck* is now built.

There are more Instances than one in History, of poor dispirited Nations, that by some signal Affront or Abuse have had their Spirits so raised, that they have not only performed notable Things on a sudden, but, if they happened, at the same Time, to be led and governed by wise Men, have so far kept up, and improved that Spirit, that they have become, in a Manner, a different People. Let us examine History, and we shall find, that the different Figure every Country has made in the World, has been ever principally owing to the Principles which were inculcated into, and carefully cultivated in the People.

* They are called *Shaouonons*, by the *French*, and live now on one of the Banks of the *Mississipi*.

CHAP. I. In this chiefly conſiſts the Art of making a Nation glorious, or the Crime of debaſing them into Servitude or Slavery. It was from the Notions of Liberty, Honour, and Glory, and ſuch wiſe and generous Principles, which the meaneſt Citizen among the old *Romans* entertained, that they became ſo great and powerful, and a Terror to all Nations; as the ſordid, timorous, cunning Artifices, and the Love of Wealth and ſenſual Pleaſures, cultivated among the preſent *Romans*, has debaſed them now into the meaneſt and leaſt feared Nation on the Earth. The Hiſtory of the *Five Nations* will readily ſhew, how far the ancient *Roman* Principles have been cultivated among them.

Soon after this Change of the People of theſe Nations, the *French* arrived at *Canada*, and ſettled at *Quebeck*; and they thinking it adviſeable to gain the Eſteem and Friendſhip of the *Adirondacks*, in whoſe Country they ſettled, *Monſieur Champlain*, the firſt Governor of *Canada*, joined the *Adirondacks* in an Expedition againſt the *Five Nations*. They met a Party of two-hundred Men of the *Five Nations* in *Corlar's Lake*, which the *French*, on this Occaſion called by *Monſieur Champlain*'s Name, and both Sides went aſhore to prepare for Battle, which proved to the Diſadvantage of the *Five Nations*. The *French*, in ſhort, kept themſelves undiſcover'd, till the Moment they began to join Battle; and their Fire-arms ſurpriſed the *Five Nations* ſo much, that they were immediately put into Confuſion; for, before that Time, they had never ſeen ſuch Weapons. The Trade with the *French*, ſoon after this, drew moſt of the neighbouring Nations to *Quebeck*, and they all joined in the War againſt the *Five Nations*.

The *Adirondacks* having their Numbers thus increaſed, and their Fire-arms giving them new Confidence, propoſed nothing leſs to themſelves, than the intire Deſtruction of the *Five Nations*. Upon this

this, their young Warriors became fierce and insolent, and would not be kept under any Diſcipline or Subjection to their Captains; but, upon all Occaſions, raſhly attacked the Enemy, who were obliged to keep themſelves upon the defenſive; and to make up what they wanted in Force, by Stratagems, and a ſkilful Management of the War. The young Men of the *Five Nations* ſoon perceived the Advantages they gained by this Conduct, and every Day grew more ſubmiſſive to their Captains, and diligent in executing any Enterprize. CHAP. I.

The *Five Nations* ſent out ſmall Parties only, who meeting with great Numbers of the *Adirondacks*, retired before them with ſeeming Terror, while the *Adirondacks* purſued them with Fury, and without Thought, till they were cunningly drawn into Ambuſcades, where moſt of their Men were killed or taken Priſoners, with little or no Loſs to the *Five Nations*.

The *Adirondacks*, by this Means, waſted away, and their boldeſt Soldiers were almoſt intirely deſtroy'd, while the Number of the *Five Nations* were increaſed, by the Addition of the Priſoners, which they took from the *Satanas*.

The wiſeſt and beſt Soldiers of the *Adirondacks*, when it was too late, now at length diſcovered, that they muſt learn the Art of War from thoſe Enemies that they at firſt deſpiſed; and now five of their Captains endeavoured to perform by themſelves ſingly, with Art and by Stratagem, what they could not do by Force at the Head of their Armies; they had however no longer any Hopes of conquering, their Thoughts were only ſet on Revenge.

It is not improper to obſerve here, once for all, that in writing the Hiſtory of *Indians*, it is often neceſſary to give an Account of the Enterprizes of ſingle Perſons, otherwiſe the *Indian* Genius can never be known, or their Manner of making War underſtood. An *Indian* named *Piſkaret* was at this Time

CHAP. I. Time one of the Captains of greateſt Fame among the *Adirondacks:* This bold Man, with four other Captains, ſet out for *Trois-Rivieres* in one Canoe, each of them being provided with three Muſquets, which they loaded with two Bullets apiece, joined with a ſmall Chain ten Inches long; they met with five Canoes in *Sorel River*, each having ten Men of the *Five Nations* on Board. *Piſkaret* and his Captains, as ſoon as thoſe of the *Five Nations* drew near, pretended to give themſelves up for loſt, and ſung their Death Song, * then ſuddenly fired upon the Canoes, which they repeated with the Arms that lay ready loaded, and tore thoſe Birch Veſſels betwixt Wind and Water. The Men of the *Five Nations* were ſo ſurprized, that they tumbled out of their Canoes, and gave *Piſkaret* and his Companions the Opportunity of knocking as many of them on the Head as they pleaſed, and ſaving the others, to feed their Revenge, which they did, by burning them alive with the moſt cruel Torments. This however was ſo far from glutting *Piſkaret*'s Revenge, that it ſeemed rather to give a keener Edge to it; for he ſoon after undertook another Enterprize, in which none of his Countrymen durſt accompany him: He was well acquainted with the Country of the *Five Nations*, and ſet out about the Time the Snow began to melt, with the Precaution of putting the hinder Part of his Snow Shoes forward, that if any ſhould happen upon his Footſteps, they might think he was gone the contrary Way; and, for further Security, went along the Ridges and high Grounds, where the Snow was melted, that his Track might be often loſt; when he came near one of the Villages of the *Five Nations*, he hid himſelf till Night, and then entered a Cabin, while every Body was faſt aſleep, mur-

* It is a Cuſtom among the *Indian* Priſoners of War, when led to Death, to ſing an Account of their own Exploits; and this they are hardy enough to continue even in the midſt of Tortures.

dered

dered the whole Family, and carried their Scalps in- CHAP.
to his lurking Place. The next day the People of I.
the Village ſearched for the Murderer in vain. The
following Night he murdered all he found in another Cabin. The Inhabitants next Day ſearched likewiſe in vain for the Murderer; but the third Night a Watch was kept in every Houſe. *Piſkaret* in the Night bundled up the Scalps he had taken the two former Nights, to carry, as the Proof of his Victory, and then ſtole privately from Houſe to Houſe, till at laſt he found an *Indian* nodding, who was upon the Watch in one of the Houſes; he knockt this Man on the Head; but as this alarmed the reſt, he was forced immediately to fly. He was however under no great Concern from the Purſuit, being more ſwift of Foot than any *Indian* then living. He let his Purſuers come near him from Time to Time, and then would dart from them. This he did with Deſign to tire them out with the Hopes of overtaking Him. As it began to grow dark, he hid himſelf, and his Purſuers ſtop'd to reſt. They not being apprehenſive of any Danger from a ſingle Man, ſoon fell aſleep, and the bold *Piſkaret* obſerving this, knock'd them all on the Head, and carried away their Scalps with the reſt. Such Stories as theſe are told among the *Indians*, as extraordinary Inſtances of the Courage and Conduct of their Captains. The *Indians* will often travel thus three or four Hundred Miles ſingly, or two or three in Company, and lurk about their Enemy's Borders for ſeveral Weeks, in Hopes to revenge the Death of a near Relation or dear Friend. Indeed they give themſelves ſo very much up to Revenge, that this Paſſion ſeems to gnaw their Souls, and gives them no Reſt till they ſatisfy it. It is this Delight in Revenge, that makes all barbarous Nations cruel; and the curbing ſuch Paſſions is one of the happy Effects of being civilized.

The

CHAP. I. The *Five Nations* are so much delighted with Stratagems in War, that no Superiority of their Forces ever make them neglect them. They amused the *Adirondacks* and their Allies the *Quatoghies* (called by the *French Hurons*) by sending to the *French*, and desiring Peace. The *French* desired them to receive some Priests among them, in Hopes that those prudent Fathers would, by some Art, reconcile them to their Interest, and engage their Affections. The *Five Nations* readily accepted the Offer, and some *Jesuits* went along with them: But after they had the Jesuits in their Power, they used them only as Hostages, and thereby obliged the *French* to stand neuter, while they prepared to attack the *Adirondacks* and *Quatoghies*, and they defeated the *Quatoghies* in a dreadful Battle fought within two Leagues of *Quebeck*.

The *French* own, That if the *Five Nations* had known their Weakness at that Time, they might have easily destroyed the whole Colony.

This Defeat, in Sight of the *French* Settlements, struck Terror into all their Allies, who were at that Time very numerous, because of the Trade with the *French*, which furnished them with many the most useful Conveniencies; for before that Time the *Indians* had no Iron Tool among them.

The *Nipeceriniens*, who then lived on the Banks of *St. Laurence River*, fled upon this to the Northward, believing that the extreme Coldness of the Climate, and a barren Soil, would be the securest Defence against the Ambition of the *Five Nations*. The Remainder of the *Quatoghies* fled with the *Utawawas* Southwestward; and for the greater Security, settled in an Island, which being further than the Name of the *Five Nations* had then reached, they trusted to the Distance of the Place, and the Advantage of its Situation.

Their last Expedition having succeeded so well, the *Five Nations* gave out, that they intended next Winter

Winter to visit *Yonnendio*, (the Name they give to the Governor of *Canada*;) these Visits are always made with much Shew. Under this Pretence they gathered together 1000 or 1200 Men. Their out Scouts met with *Piskaret* near *Niccolet River*, and still pretending a friendly Visit to the Governor of *Canada*, as their only Design, he told them, that the *Adirondacks* were divided into two Bodies, one of which hunted on the North Side of *St. Laurence River* at *Wabmake*, three Leagues above *Trois Rivieres*, and the other at *Nicolet*. As soon as they had gained this Information, they killed him, and returned with his Head to the Army. The *Five Nations* divided likewise into two Bodies; they surprized the *Adirondacks* in both Places, and in both cut them in pieces. CHAP. I.

Thus the most warlike and polite Nation of all the *Indians* in *North America*, was almost intirely destroyed by a People they at first despised, and by a War which their Pride and Injustice brought upon them; and we here see, that all the Advantages of Numbers, Courage and Weapons, is not equal to good discipline in an Army.

A very few *Adirondacks* only now remain in some Villages near *Quebeck*, who still waste away and decay, by their drinking strong Waters, tho' when the *French* first settled at *Quebeck*, 1500 fighting Men of them lived between that Place and *Sillerie*, which are only a League distant, besides those that lived at *Saquenay*, *Trois Rivieres*, and some other Places. And since this decisive Battle, the *Adirondacks* have never been considered as of any Consequence, either in Peace or War.

The *Quatoghies* and *Atawawas* now soon began to be in Want of the *European* Commodities, which had made them considerable among their new Friends. In order therefore to supply themselves anew, they returned to Trade at *Quebeck*; and by this Means the Place of their Retreat was discovered to the *five Nations*; and they not having their Revenge

CHAP. I.

venge ſatiated, while the *Quatoghies* had a Being, ſoon convinced them, that no Extent of Country could ſet bounds to that Paſſion, when it rages in the Hearts of the *Five Nations*, for they ſoon after attack'd them in their new Settlement. The *Quatoghies* had the good Fortune to diſcover the *Five Nations* Time enough to make their Eſcape, and fled to the *Putewatemies*, who lived a Day's Journey further, where they, and all the Neighbouring Nations, ſecured themſelves in a large Fort. The *Five Nations* followed, but, being in Want of Proviſion, they could not attempt a Siege, and therefore propoſed a Treaty with the *Putewatemies*, which was accepted. The *Putewatemies* acknowledged the *Five Nations* as Maſters of all the Nations round them, applauded their Valour, and promiſed them their Friendſhip, and to ſupply them with Proviſions; they would not however truſt themſelves out of their Fort, but ſent out a Supply; and even this they did, only with Deſign to do that by Treachery, which they durſt not attempt by Force; for the Proviſions were poiſoned. The Treachery was diſcovered however to the *Five Nations*, by an old *Quatoghie*, who had a Son Priſoner among them; his Affection for his Son overcoming even his Hatred to his Country's Enemies. This Treachery highly enraged the *Five Nations* againſt the *Putewatemies*, and the neighbouring People; but Famine obliging them to retire at this Time, they divided their Armies into Parties, the better to provide for their Subſiſtence, by Hunting; one of theſe Parties in their Chace fell in with a Village of the *Chicktaghicks* (called by the *French Hinois*) and ſurprized the old Men, Women and Children, when the young Men were abroad hunting; but the young Men, upon their Return, gathering together all the reſt of the Villages, purſued this Party of the *Five Nations*, and recovered the Priſoners.

This

This was the first Time that the *Five Nations* had been seen in those Parts, but their Name was become so terrible, that the *Chigtaghcicks*, notwithstanding this Advantage, left their Country, and fled to the Nations that lived westward, till the General Peace was settled by the *French*, and not till on that Occasion returned to their own Country.

CHAP. II.

The Wars and Treaties of Peace of the Indians *of the* Five Nations *with the* French, *from* 1665 *to* 1683, *and their Affairs with* New-York *in that Time.*

IN *June* 1665 *Monsieur De Trasi* appointed *Vice-Roy* of *America* by the *French King*, arrived at *Quebeck*, after he had visited the *French Islands* in the *West Indies*, and brought with him four Companies of Foot; and in *September* of the same Year, *Mr. Coursel* arrived Governor General of *Canada*; he brought with him a Regiment and several Families, with all Things necessary for establishing of a Colony. Their Force being now thus considerably augmented, the *French* Governor resolved to chastise the Insolence of the *Five Nations*; and for that Purpose, in the Winter, sent out a Party against the *Mohawks*, but these by the Cold, and their not knowing the Use of Snow Shoes, suffered very much, without doing any Thing against the Enemy.

This Party however fell in with * *Skenectady*, a small Town which *Corlear* (a considerable Man among the *Dutch*) had then newly settled. When they appeared near *Shenectady*, they were almost dead with Cold and Hunger; and the *Indians*, who were

* The *French* call this Town *Corlear*, from the Persons Name who first settled there. It is situate on the *Mohawks* River sixteen Miles from *Albany*.

CHAP. II. then in that Village, had intirely deſtroyed them, if *Corlear*, (in Compaſſion to his fellow Chriſtians) had not contriv'd their Eſcape. He had a mighty Influence over the *Indians*; and it is from him, and in Remembrance of his Merit, that all Governors of *New-York* are called *Corlear* by the *Indians* to this Day, tho' he himſelf was never Governor. He perſuaded the *Indians*, that this was a ſmall Party of the *French* Army come to amuſe them, that the great Body was gone directly towards their Caſtles, and that it was neceſſary for them immediately to go in Defence of their Wives and Children. This they believed, and readily obeyed; and as ſoon as the *Indians* were gone, he ſent to the *French*, and ſupplied them with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries to carry them back. The *French* Governor, in Order to reward ſo ſignal a Service, invited *Corlear* to *Canada*; but as he went through the great Lake, which lies to the Northward of *Albany*, his Canoe was overſet, and he was drowned; and from this Accident that Lake has ever ſince been called *Corlear*'s *Lake*, by the People of *New-York*. There is a Rock in this Lake, on which the Waves daſh and fly up to a great Height; when the Wind blows hard, the *Indians* believe, that an old *Indian* lives under this Rock, who has the Power of the Winds; and therefore, as they paſs it in their Voyages over, they always throw a Pipe, or ſome other ſmall Preſent to this old *Indian*, and pray a favourable Wind. The *Engliſh* that paſs with them ſometimes laugh at them, but they are ſure to be told of *Corlear*'s Death. Your great Countryman *Corlear* (ſay they) as he paſſed by this Rock, jeſted at our Fathers making Preſents to this *Old Indian*, and in Deriſion turned up his Backſide, but this Affront coſt him his Life.

In the following Spring the *Vice-Roy* and the *Governor of Canada*, with twenty eight Companies of Foot, and all the Militia of the Colony, marched into the Country of the *Mohawks*, with a Deſign to

deſtroy this Nation, which by their Wars not only prevented their Commerce with the weſtern *Indians*, but likewiſe often put their Colony in Danger. It certainly was a bold Attempt, to march above 700 Miles from *Quebeck* through vaſt unknown Foreſts. The *Mohawks* however, on their Approach, Men, Women, and Children, retired into the Woods, and all that the *French* were able to do, was to burn ſome Villages, and to murder ſome old *Sachems* that (like the old Roman Senators,) choſe rather to dye than to deſert their Houſes.

The *French* were ſo conceited before, of their Superiority over the *Indians* in their Skill of War, and their Weapons, that they thought they could not eſcape, but the little Honour or Advantage they got by this Expedition leſſened their Vanity, and made them deſirous of Peace; and the *Five Nations* remaining fearful of the *French fire Arms*, it was without much Difficulty concluded in the Year 1667.

The *Five Nations* however being naturally very enterprizing and haughty, one of their Parties ſome Time after met with ſome *French* in their hunting, and quarrelled with them. The *Indians* had the Advantage, they killed ſeveral of the *French*, and carried one Priſoner into their own Country. *Monſieur de Courſel* ſent on this to threaten the *Five Nations* with War, if they did not deliver up theſe Murderers; and the *Five Nations*, to ſhew their publick Diſpleaſure at this Breach of Peace, ſent *Agariata*, the Captain of the Company that did the Miſchief, with forty others, to beg Pardon; but *Monſieur Courſel* was reſolved to make an Example of *Agariata*, and ordered him to be hanged in Sight of his Countrymen; and the *French* think that this Severity was a great Means of preſerving the Peace till the Year 1683.

The *Dutch*, who ſettled in the *New Netherlands*, now called *New-York*, in 1609, entered into an Alliance with the *Five Nations*, which continued without any

CHAP. II. Breach on either Side, till the *Engliſh* gained this Country. The *Dutch* gained the Hearts of the *Five Nations* by their kind Uſage, and were frequently uſeful to the *French*, in ſaving thoſe of them that were priſoners from the Cruelty of the *Indians*.

In 1664, *New-York* being taken by the *Engliſh*, they likewiſe immediately entered into a Friendſhip with the *Five Nations*, which has continued without the leaſt Breach to this Day; and Hiſtory, I believe, cannot give an Inſtance of the moſt Chriſtian or moſt Catholick Kings obſerving a Treaty ſo ſtrictly, and for ſo long a Time as theſe Barbarians, as they are called, have done.

The *Engliſh* and *French* (Peace being every where ſettled) now endeavoured to extend their Commerce and Alliances among the *Indian Nations*, that live to the weſtward of *New-York*. The *French* however, in their Meaſures, diſcovered always a Deſign of conquering and commanding; for with this View *Mr. de Frontenac*, who had ſucceeded in the Government of *Canada*, in the Year 1672, perſuaded the *Five Nations* to allow him to build a Fort on the north Side of *Cadarackui Lake*, under Pretence of a Store for *Merchandiſe*, and the Security of his Traders, and under the ſame Pretence built ſeveral other Forts at ſome other conſiderable Places far in the Country.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, on the contrary, proſecuted their Meaſures only with the Arts of Peace, by ſending People among the *Indians* to gain their Affections, and to perſuade them to come to *Albany* to trade; but the War with the *Dutch*, which happened about this Time, prevented even theſe honeſt Deſigns from having the Succeſs they otherwiſe might have had; for in the Year 1673, *New-York* being ſurpriſed by the *Dutch*, and reſtored the next Year to the *Engliſh*, the Alterations of Government, and of Maſters, obſtructed very much any Meaſures that could have been taken for the publick Good.

Good. Their Trade was likewiſe conſiderably hindered by the War which the *Five Nations* had at that Time with the * *River Indians*, which forced many of thoſe *Indians* to ſeek Shelter among the *Utawawas*, who fell under the *French* Government at laſt; however, the *Engliſh*, *Dutch* and *French* having all made Peace in *Europe*, and the Government of *New-York* likewiſe having obtained a Peace between the *Five Nations* and *Mahikindars* or *River Indians*, both the *Engliſh* and *French* were at full Liberty to proſecute their Deſigns of extending their Commerce among the *Indians*, which both did with very conſiderable Succeſs and Advantage to the Inhabitants of their reſpective Colonies. CHAP. II.

But this Juſtice muſt be done to the *French*, that they far exceeded the *Engliſh* in the daring Attempts of ſome of their Inhabitants, in travelling very far among unknown *Indians*, diſcovering new Countries, and every where ſpreading the Fame of the *French* Name and Grandeur. The *Sieur Perot* travelled in the Year 1667 as far as *the Fall St. Mary* beyond *Miſſilimakinak*, and having learned thoſe *Indians* Language, gained them over to his Country's Intereſt.

The Courage and Reſolution of many of theſe Adventurers are deſervedly recorded by the *French*; but the *Engliſh* give it another Turn, and ſay it is the Barrenneſs and Poverty of *Canada* that puſhes the Men of Spirit there, upon Enterprizes, that they would not have attempted, if they had lived in the Province of *New-York*. The chief Reaſon, in my Opinion, however, of the *French* having ſo far ſucceeded beyond the *Engliſh* is, that the *Indian Affairs* are the particular Care of the Governor and other principal Officers in *Canada*, who have the greateſt Knowledge and Authority; whereas thoſe Affairs in *New-York* are chiefly left to the Management of a few

* The *Indians* living on the Branches of *Hudſon*'s River, within or near the *Engliſh* Settlements at that Time.

Traders with the *Indians*, who have no Care for, or Skill in publick Affairs, and only mind their private Intereſt.

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Of the Tranſactions of the Indians *of the* Five Nations *with the neighbouring* Engliſh *Colonies.*

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THE *Five Nations* being now amply ſupplied by the *Engliſh* with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, give full Swing to their warlike Genius, and ſoon reſolved to revenge the Affronts they had at any Time received from the *Indian* Nations that lived at a greater Diſtance from them. The neareſt Nations, as they were attack'd, commonly fled to thoſe that were further off, and the *Five Nations* purſued them. This, together with a Deſire they had of conquering, or Ambition of making all the Nations round them their Tributaries, or to acknowledge the *Five Nations* to be ſo far their Maſters, as to be abſolutely directed by them in all Affairs of Peace and War with their Neighbours, made them overrun great Part of *North-America*. They carried their Arms as far South as *Carolina*, to the Northward of *New-England*, and as far Weſt as the River *Miſſiſſipi*, over a vaſt Country, which extends twelve hundred Miles in Length, from North to South, and about ſix hundred Miles in breadth; where they intirely deſtroyed many Nations, of whom there are now no Accounts remaining among the *Engliſh*.

Theſe warlike Expeditions often proved troubleſome to the Colonies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*; for not only the *Indians* that were Friends to thoſe Colonies became Victims to the Fury of the *Five Nations*, but the Chriſtian Inhabitants likewiſe were frequently involved in the ſame Calamity.

The

The *French* having a long Time felt the Inconveniencies and Dangers they were in from this reſtleſs warlike Spirit of the *Five Nations*, made uſe of this Time of Peace to guard againſt it for the future, and were very diligent in purſuing the moſt prudent Meaſures. They ſent ſome of their wiſeſt Prieſts and Jeſuits to reſide among them, and the Governors of *New-York* were ordered, by the *Duke of York*, to give theſe Prieſts all the Incouragement in their Power. The chief View of theſe Prieſts was, to give the *Indians* the higheſt Opinion of the *French Power* and Wiſdom, and to render the *Engliſh* as ſuſpected and as mean as poſſible in their Eyes. They waited likewiſe for every Opportunity to breed a Quarrel between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, and to withdraw the *Five Nations* from fighting with thoſe Nations that traded to *Canada*. For theſe Purpoſes theſe Prieſts were inſtrumental in turning the Reſentment of the *Five Nations* againſt the *Indians*, that were in Friendſhip with *Virginia* and *Maryland*. The Governor of *Maryland*, on the other Hand, to prevent the ill Conſequences, that might happen by Wars between Nations that were in Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, and lived in their Neighbourhood, ſent *Colonel Courſey*, in the Year 1677, to *Albany*, to increaſe the Friendſhip between *Virginia* and *Maryland* on the one Part, and the *Five Nations* on the other; and, accordingly, both Sides gave mutual Promiſes at *Albany*: But this good Underſtanding was ſoon ſhaken by ſome Parties of the *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas*, and *Senekas*, who were out when this Treaty was made, and were ignorant of it. One of them met with the *Suſquehana Indians*, who were in Friendſhip with *Maryland*, and fell upon them; they killed four of the *Suſquehanas*, and took ſix Priſoners. Five of theſe Priſoners fell to the Share of the *Senekas*, who, as ſoon as they arrived in their own Country, ſent them back with Preſents, to ſhew that they kept their Promiſes with

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Maryland; but the *Oneydoes* detained the Prisoner they had.

Another Party, that went against the *Canagesse Indians* (Friends of *Virginia*) were surprised by a Troop of Horse, who killed one Man, and took a Woman Prisoner: The *Indians*, in Revenge, killed four of the Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps, with six Christian Prisoners.

The *Mohawks*, all this while, kept strictly to their Words, and suffered none of their Men to go towards *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

There is Reason to think that the *Dutch*, who lived about *Albany* at that Time, spirited up the *Indians* against the *English*; the national Differences, that were then recent, bred a Rancour in their Spirits. Some *Dutchmen* persuaded the *Oneydoes*, that the *English* at *New-York* were resolved to destroy them, and put them into a terrible Disturbance; for here the *Dutch* and the *French* Priests joined in the same Measures. The Commandant at *Albany* hearing of this, sent two Interpreters of the *Indian* Language, to persuade the *Oneydoes* to come to *Albany*, in Order to be assured of the *English* Friendship, and to have their Jealousy removed; which being done, *Swerise*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Oneydoes*, excused his Countrymen at *Albany* the fifteenth of *February* $167\frac{3}{9}$, by laying the Blame on the People of *Schenectady*, who had informed not one, but several of their People, and at several Times, that the *English* designed to cut them all off; and said, had they not Reason to believe the People of *Schenectady*, who are Friends and Neighbours to the *English*? They brought with them a Christian Woman and her Child, that had been taken Prisoners, and restored them, praying the Governor to use his Interest to have their People restored, that had been taken by the People of *Virginia*; but they kept another Christian Woman and her two Children, which they said they did only till such Time

Time as their Prisoners should be restored, or some *Canastoga Indians* given in their Place. CHAP. III.

When the *Five Nations* make Peace with another Nation, that has taken some of the *Five Nations* Prisoners, if these Prisoners be dead, or cannot be restored, they usually demand some *Indians*, in Friendship with the *Five Nations*, in their stead; who either are adopted in Place of their dead Friends, or restored to their own Nation; and sometimes they desire some of their Enemies to be given to them, and even those frequently are adopted by a Father in Place of a Son, or by a Sister in Place of a Brother, and, most frequently, by a Wife in Place of a Husband lost in the Wars; but if they chance not to be agreeable to the Relations, then they are certainly made Sacrifices to their Revenge.

Governor *Andross*, being acquainted by Letter with this last Proposal of the *Oneydoes*, required the immediate Delivery of the Christian Prisoners, and promised to write to *Virginia* to have the *Indian* Prisoners sav'd. Some Presents being given to the *Oneydoes*, and they promised to bring them in a Month's Time.

They, at the same Time, informed the Commandant at *Albany*, that eight of their Men were then out against the People of *Virginia*; that they knew nothing of what was now promised; and therefore, in Case they should do any Harm, they desired that it might not be taken as a Breach of their Promises they now made. They promised likewise to inform the Governor of every Thing these Parties shou'd happen to do. In the last Place they said, we shall be very sorry if any Thing should happen to the Prisoners that we have promised to restore, lest it should create some Jealousies of us, we hope that you will consider that they are mortal. Accordingly, in *May* following, the *Oneydoes* brought the other three Prisoners to *Albany*, and,

CHAP. III. on the Twenty-fourth of that Month, *Swerise*, when he delivered them to the Commandant at *Albany*, and the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs, said,

" *Brethren*,

" We are come to this Place with much Trouble, " as we did last Winter, and renew the Request " we then made, that six *Indians* be delivered to " us in the Room of these six Christians, in Case " our People, who are Prisoners, be dead. " None of us have gone out against the Christi- " ans since we were last here; but we told you " then that some were then out, who knew nothing " of the Governor's Orders, and we desired, that " if any Thing happened it might not be taken " ill. Now thirteen of our People, who went out " against our *Indian* Enemies, met eighteen Men on " Horseback, as far from any of the *English* Plan- " tations as *Cahnuaga* is from *Albany*, they fired " upon our People; our Men, being Soldiers, re- " turned their Fire, and killed two Men and two " Horses, and brought away their Scalps.

" It would be convenient that the Governor " tell the People of *Virginia*, not to send their Men " so far from Home; for if they should meet our " Parties in their Way against our Enemies, the " *Cahnowas*, whom the *English* call *Arogisti*, we can- " not answer for the Consequences.

" We have now observed the Governor's Orders, " in bringing the three other Christian Prisoners; " and we trust the Affair of our Prisoners wholly " to the Governor.

" We have now performed our Promises: But " where are our Prisoners; or, if they be dead, " the others in their Room, now when it is so late " in the Spring? However, we will still trust this " to the Governor."

Then delivering the Prisoners one by one, said, " We have, we say, now performed our Promises,

" and

" and are not aſhamed. We hope *Corlaer*, who governs the whole Country, will likewiſe do that, of which he need not be aſhamed. CHAP. III.

" *Corlaer* governs the whole Land, from *New-York* to *Albany*, and from thence to the *Seneekas Land*; we, who are his Inferiors, ſhall faithfully keep the Chain: Let him perform his Promiſe, as we have ours, that the Chain be not broken on his Side, who governs the whole Country."

Then the Commiſſioners gave them Preſents for their kind Uſage of the Priſoners.

After which *Sweriſe* ſtood up again and ſaid; " Let *Corlaer* take Care, that the *Indian* Woman, that is wanting, be reſtored, and, for thoſe that are killed, others in their Room. If *Corlaer* will not give Ear to us in this Affair, we will not hereafter give Ear to him in any Thing."

Hearing afterwards, that theſe laſt Words were ill taken, *Sweriſe*, with two more of the chief *Oneydoe Sachems*, excuſed it, ſaying; " What we ſaid, of not hearkening any more to *Corlaer*, did not proceed from the Heart, but was ſpoken by Way of Argument, to make *Corlaer* more careful to releaſe our People that are Priſoners; and you may be convinced it was ſo, when you conſider that it was ſaid after your Anſwer, and without laying down either Bever, or any Belt or Wampum, as we always do, when we make Propoſitions *; therefore we deſire, that, if it be noted, it may be blotted out, and not made known to *Corlaer*, for we hold firmly to our Covenant, as we ſaid in our Propoſitions."

* The Word Propoſition has been always uſed by the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs at *Albany*, to ſignify Propoſals or Articles in the Treaties or Agreements made with the *Indians*.

They,

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They, at the same Time, told them, That the *Sinondowans* * came to them with eight Belts, desiring them no longer to prosecute the War with the *Virginia Indians*, but to go to War against the *Dewaganas* †, a Nation lying to the North-westward; and that the *Sennekas* did desire them to set these Christians at Liberty, and to carry them to *Albany*; all which we promised to do.

The *Five Nations* continuing however still to be troublesome to *Virginia*, that Government, in *September* following, sent Colonel *William Kendall*, and Colonel *Southley Littleton*, to *Albany*, to renew and confirm the Friendship between *Virginia* and the *Five Nations*. Colonel *Littleton* died at *Albany*, before the *Indians* arrived; and Colonel *Kendall* spoke first to the *Oneydoes*, and told them in a set Speech, "That "their People had taken away and destroyed their "Goods and People, and brought some of the Wo- "men and Children of *Virginia* Captives into their "Castles, contrary to that Faith and Promise, and "in Breach of the Peace made with Colonel *Cour- "sey*, without any the least Provocation, or Injury "done, by the People of *Virginia*. However, "through the great Respect *Virginia* has to their "Nations, and by the Persuasions of the Governor "of *New-York*, and the Information he has given "the Government of *Virginia*, that they had qui- "etly and peaceably delivered to him the Prisoners "taken from *Virginia*, who were returned safely; "and their excusing the same, and Inclination to "live peaceably, without injuring *Virginia* for the "future; the Government of *Virginia* did forgive "all the Damages the *Five Nations* have done to "the People of *Virginia*, though very great; pro- "vided that they, or any living among them, for

* A Castle of the *Sennekas*, from whence the *French* call the *Sennekas Tonontouan*.

† Comprehended under the general Name of *Utawawas*.

"the

" the future, do not offend, or moleſt the Peo- CHAP.
" ple of *Virginia*, or *Indians* living among them." III.

He ſpoke to the *Mohawks* and *Sennekas*, ſepa- ~~
rately from the *Oneydoes*, becauſe they had not done any Miſchief, and promiſed them kind and neighbourly Uſage when they came to *Virginia*, and gave them Preſents; they returned the Compliment, with an Aſſurance of their Friendſhip, and condoled Colonel *Littleton*'s Death, after the *Indian* Manner, by a Preſent of a Belt of black Wampum, beſides the Belt given, on renewal of the Friendſhip.

The *Onnondagas* did not come till *November*; on the fifth of which Month the *Virginia* Agent ſpoke to them, in the ſame Words he did to the *Oneydoes*. It does not appear, by the Regiſter of *Indian* Affairs, what Anſwer the *Oneydoes* and *Onnondagas* made, but it is certain they did not obſerve Friendſhip with *Virginia*, but moleſted them with reiterated Incurſions of their Parties. It is obſervable, however, that theſe two Nations, and the *Cayugas*, only had *French* Prieſts among them at that Time, and that none of the reſt ever moleſted the *Engliſh*; for which Reaſon, Colonel *Dongan*, notwithſtanding the Orders he had received from his Maſter, and that he himſelf was a Papiſt, complained of the ill Offices theſe Prieſts did to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and forbid the *Five Nations* to entertain any of them; though the *Engliſh* and *French* Crowns, while he was Governor of *New-York*, ſeemed to be more than ever in ſtrict Friendſhip.

The *French* had no Hopes of perſuading the *Five Nations* to break with *New-York* directly, but they were in Hopes, that, by the *Indian* Parties doing frequent Miſchief in *Virginia*, the Government of *New-York* would be forced to join, in reſenting the Injury, and thereby that Union, between the Government of *New-York* and the *Five Nations*, would be broke, which always obſtructed, and often defeated, the Deſign the *French* had, of ſubjecting all

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North America to the Crown of *France*. For this Reaſon, the Governors of *New-York* have always, with the greateſt Caution, avoided a Breach with theſe Nations, on Account of the little Differences they had with the neighbouring Colonies. Theſe new Incurſions of theſe two Nations were ſo troubleſome to the People of *Virginia*, that their Governor, the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, thought it neceſſary, for their Security, to undertake a Journey to *New-York*.

I ſhall give a particular Account of this Affair, which was thought of ſuch Conſequence, that a Peer of *England* left his Government, and travelled four-hundred Miles, to treat with the *Five Nations*; and ſhall take this Opportunity of deſcribing ſome Ceremonies they uſe, in making Peace.

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* being called to *Albany*, eight *Mohawks*, three *Oneydoes*, three *Onnondagas*, and three *Cayuga Sachems*, met his Lordſhip there; and, on the thirteenth of *July*, 1684, he, accompanied by two of the Council of *Virginia*, ſpoke to the *Sachems* as follows, in the Preſence of Colonel *Thomas Dongan*, Governor of *New-York*, and the Magiſtrates of *Albany*. The *Senekas* being far off, were not then arrived.

Propoſals made by the Right Honourable Francis *Lord* Howard of Effingham, *Governor-general of his Majeſty's Dominion of* Virginia.

To

The Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onnondagas, *and* Cayugas.

"IT is now about ſeven Years, ſaid he, ſince you (unprovoked) came into *Virginia*, a Country belonging to the great King of *England*, and committed ſeveral Murders and Robberies, carrying away our Chriſtian Women and Children Priſoners into your Caſtles. All which Injuries we

"deſigned

" designed to have revenged on you, but at the CHAP.
" Desire of Sir *Edmond Andros*, then Governor- III.
" general of this Country, we desisted from de-
" stroying you, and sent our Agents, Colonel *Wil-*
" *liam Kendal*, and Colonel *Southley Littleton*, to
" confirm and make sure the Peace, that Colonel
" *Coursey* of *Maryland* included us in, when he first
" treated with you. We find, that as you quickly
" forgot what you promised Colonel *Coursey*, so you
" have wilfully broke the Covenant-chain which
" you promised our Agent, Colonel *Kendal*, should
" be kept more strong and bright, if we of *Vir-*
" *ginia* would bury, in the Pit of Oblivion, the
" Injury then done us; which, upon Governor *An-*
" *dros*'s Intercession, and your Submission, we
" were willing to forget: But you not at all mind-
" ing the Covenant then made, have every Year
" since, come into our Country in a war-like Man-
" ner, under Pretence of fighting with our *Indi-*
" *ans*, our Friends and Neighbours, which you
" ought not to have done, our Agent having inclu-
" ded them likewise in the Peace. You not only
" destroyed, and took several of them Prisoners,
" but you have also killed and burnt our Christian
" People, destroying Corn and Tobacco, more than
" you made Use of, killed our Horses, Hogs, and
" Cattle; not to eat, but to let them lie in the
" Woods and stink: This you did, when you were
" not denied any Thing you said you wanted.

" I must also tell you, that, under the Pretence
" of Friendship, you have come to Houses at the
" Heads of our Rivers (when they have been for-
" tified) with a white Sheet on a Pole, and have
" laid down your Guns before the Fort; upon
" which, our People taking you for Friends, have
" admitted your great Men into their Forts, and
" have given them Meat and Drink, what they de-
" sired. After the great Men had refreshed them-
" selves, and desiring to return, as they were let out

" of

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" of the Fort-gates, the young Men commonly ruſhed " into the Fort, and plundered the Houſes, taking " away, and deſtroying all the Corn, Tobacco, and " Bedding, and what elſe was in the Houſes. When " they went away, they generally alſo took ſeveral " Sheep with them, and killed ſeveral Cows big with " Calf, and left them behind them cut to Pieces, and " flung about, as if it were in Defiance of us, and in " Deriſion of our Friendſhip. Theſe, and many " more Injuries that you have done us, have cauſed " me to raiſe Forces, to ſend to the Heads of our " Rivers, to defend our People from theſe Out- " rages, till I came to *New-York*, to Colonel *Thomas* " *Dongan*, your Governor-general, to deſire him, " as we are all one King's Subjects, to aſſiſt me in " warring againſt you, to revenge the Chriſtian " Blood that you have ſhed, and to make you " give full Satisfaction for all the Goods that you " have deſtroyed: But by the Mediation of your " Governor, I am now come to *Albany* to ſpeak " with you, and to know the Reaſon of your break- " ing the Covenant-chain, not only with us and " our neighbour *Indians*, but with *Maryland*, who " are great King *Charles*'s Subjects; for our *Indians* " have given King *Charles* their Land; therefore I, " the Governor of *Virginia*, will protect them, as " your Governor, under the great *Duke of York* and " *Albany*, will henceforth you, when the Chain of " Friendſhip is made between us all.

" Now I have let you know, that I am ſenſible " of all the Injuries you have done us, and by the " Deſire of your Governor-general, I am willing " to make a new Chain with you for *Virginia*, *Ma-* " *ryland*, and our *Indians*, that may be more ſtrong " and laſting, even to the Word's End; ſo that we " may be Brethren, and great King *Charles*'s Chil- " dren.

" I pro-

" I propoſe to you, *firſt*, That you call out of CHAP.
" our Countries of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, all your III.
" young Men or Soldiers that are now there.

" *Secondly*, That you do not hinder or moleſt our
" friendly *Indians* from hunting in our Mountains, it
" having been their Country, and none of yours;
" they never go into your Country to diſturb any
" of you.

" *Thirdly*, Though the Damages you have done
" our Country be very great, and would require a
" great deal of Satisfaction, which you are bound
" to give; yet we aſſure you, that only by the
" Perſuaſions of your Governor, who is at a vaſt
" deal of Trouble and Charge for your Welfare,
" which you ever ought to acknowledge, I have
" paſs'd it by and forgiven you; upon this Conditi-
" on, that your People, nor any living among you,
" for the future, ever commit any Incurſions upon
" our Chriſtians or *Indians* living among us, or in
" *Maryland*.

" For the better Confirmation of the ſame, and
" that the Peace now concluded may be laſting, I
" propoſe to have two * Hatchets buried, as a fi-
" nal Determination of all Wars and Jarrings be-
" tween us; one on behalf of us and our *Indians*,
" and the other for all your *Nations* united together,
" that ever did us any Injury, or pretended to war
" againſt our *Indian* Friends, or thoſe of *Mary-
" land*.

" And that nothing may be wanting for Confir-
" mation thereof (if you deſire it) we are willing
" to ſend ſome of our *Indian Sachems*, with an A-
" gent, next Summer, about this Time, that they
" may ratify the Covenant with you here, in this
" prefixed Houſe, where you may ſee and ſpeak
" together as Friends.

* All *Indians* make Uſe of a Hatchet or Axe, as an Emblem to expreſs War.

" That

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" That the Covenant now made between us, in " this prefixed Houſe, in the Preſence of your Go- " vernor, may be firmly kept and performed on " your Parts, as it always has been on ours; and that " you do not break any one Link of the Covenant- " chain for the future, by your People's coming " near our Plantations; when you march to the " Southward, keep to the Feet of the Mountains, " and do not come nigh the Heads of our Rivers, " there being no Bever-hunting there; for we ſhall " not for the future, though you lay down your " Arms as Friends, ever truſt you more, you have " ſo often deceived us."

The next Day the *Mohawks* anſwer'd firſt by their Speaker, ſaying:

" We muſt, in the firſt Place, ſay ſomething to " the other three Nations, by Way of Reproof, for " their not keeping the former Chain, as they " ought; and therefore we deſire you, great *Sa-* " *chem of Virginia*, and you *Corlaer*, and all here " preſent to give Ear, for we will conceal nothing " of the Evil they have done." [Then turning to the other Nations.] " You have heard Yeſterday " all that has been ſaid; as for our Parts, we are " free of the Blame laid on us; we have always " been obedient to *Corlaer*, and have ſteadily kept " our Chain with *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Boſton*; " but ye are ſtupid and brutiſh, and have no Un- " derſtanding, we muſt ſtamp Underſtanding into " you. Let the new Chain made Yeſterday be care- " fully preſerved for the future. This we earneſt- " ly recommend to you, for we are ready to cry " for Shame of you; let us be no more aſhamed on " your Account, but be obedient, and take this " Belt, to keep what we ſay in your Memory.

" Hear now, now is the Time to hearken; the " Covenant-chain had very near ſlipt, by your not

" keeping it firmly. Hold it fast now, when all for- CHAP.
" mer Evils are buried in the Pit. III.

" You *Oneydoes*, I speak to you as Children; be
" no longer childish, or void of Understanding.

" You *Onondagas*, our Brethren, you are like
" deaf People, that cannot hear, your Senses are
" covered with Dirt and Filth.

" You *Cayugas*, do not return into your former
" Ways. There are three Things we must all ob-
" serve.

" *First*, The Covenant with *Corlear*. *Secondly*,
" the Covenant with *Virginia* and *Maryland*.
" *Thirdly*, with *Boston*. We must stamp Under-
" standing into you, that you may be obedient;
" and take this Belt for a Remembrancer."

Then *Cadianne*, the same *Mohawk* Speaker, turning to my Lord, said:

" We are very thankful to you, great *Sachem* of
" *Virginia*, that you are persuaded by *Corlear*, our
" Governor, to forgive all former Faults. We are
" very glad to hear you, and see your Heart soft-
" ened. Take these three Bevers as a Token.

" We thank the great *Sachem* of *Virginia* for say-
" ing, that the Axe shall be thrown into the Pit.
" Take these two Bevers, as a Token of our Joy
" and Thankfulness.

" We are glad that *Assarigoa* * will bury in the
" Pit what is past. Let the Earth be trod hard
" over it; or rather, let a strong Stream run under
" the Pit, to wash the Evil away out of our Sight
" and Remembrance, and that it may never be
" digged up again.

" *Assarigoa*, you are a Man of Knowledge and
" Understanding, thus to keep the Covenant-chain
" bright as Silver; and now again to renew it, and

* The Name the *Five Nations* always give the Governor of *Virginia*.

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" make it ſtronger. (Then pointing to the three " other Nations, ſaid,) But they are Chain-break- " ers. I lay down this as a Token, that we *Mo-* " *hawks* have preſerved the Chain intire on our " Parts. Gives two Bevers and a Racoon.

" The Covenant muſt be kept; for the Fire of " Love of *Virginia* and *Maryland* burns in this Place, " as well as ours, and this Houſe of Peace muſt be " kept clean. Gives two Bevers.

" We now plant a Tree *, whoſe Top will reach " the Sun, and its Branches ſpread far abroad, ſo " that it ſhall be ſeen afar off; and we ſhall ſhelter " ourſelves under it, and live in Peace without Mo- " leſtation. Here he gave two Bevers.

" You propoſed Yeſterday, that if we were de- " ſirous to ſee the *Indians* of *Virginia*, you are will- " ing to ſend ſome of their *Sachems* next Summer, " about this Time, to this Place. This Propoſal " pleaſes me very much, the ſooner they come the " better, that we may ſpeak with them in this " Houſe, which is appointed for our ſpeaking with " our Friends; and give two Belts to confirm it.

" You have now heard what Exhortation we have " made to the other three Nations; we have taken " the Hatchet out of their Hands; we now there- " fore pray, that both your Hatchets may likewiſe " be buried in a deep Pit. Giving two Bevers.

" *Aſſarigoa*, ſome of us *Mohawks* are out againſt " our Enemies, that lie afar off, they will do you " no Harm, nor plunder, as the others do. Be " kind to them, if they ſhall happen to come to " any of your Plantations; give them ſome To- " bacco and ſome Victuals; for they will neither " rob nor ſteal, as the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas*, and " *Cayugas* have done.

* The *Five Nations* always expreſs Peace by the Metaphor of a Tree.

" The

" The *Oneydoes* particularly thank you, great *Sachem* of *Virginia*, for consenting to lay down the " Axe. The Hatchet is taken out of all their " Hands. Gives a Belt.

" We again thank *Assarigoa*, that he has made a " new Chain. Let it be kept bright and clean, and " held fast on all Sides; let not any one pull his " Arm from it. We include all the *four Nations*, " in giving this Belt.

" We again pray *Assarigoa*, to take the *Oneydoes* " into his Favour, and keep the Chain strong " with them; for they are our Children. Gives a " Belt.

" The *Oneydoes* give twenty Bevers, as a Satisfac- " tion for what they promised the Lord *Baltimore*, " and desire that they may be discharged of that " Debt."

The two Governors told them, that they would use their Endeavours with the Lord *Baltimore*, to persuade him to forgive what remained.

Then the *Indians* desired that the Hole might be dug, to bury the Axes, *viz.* one in Behalf of *Virginia* and their *Indians*, another in Behalf of *Maryland* and theirs, and three for the *Onnondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*. The *Mohawks* said, there was no Need of burying any on their Account, for the first Chain had never been broke by them.

Then the three Nations spoke by an *Onnondaga*, called *Thanohjánihta*, who said:

" We thank the great *Sachem of Virginia*, that he " has so readily forgiven and forgot the Injuries " that have been done; and we, for our Parts, glad- " ly catch at, and lay hold of the new Chain. " Then each of them delivered an Axe to be buri- " ed, and gave a Belt.

" I speak in the Name of all three Nations, and " include them in this Chain, which we desire may " may be kept clean and bright like Silver. Gives a " Belt.

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" We desire that the Path may be open for the " *Indians* under *Assarigoa*'s Protection, to come " safely and freely to this Place, in order to confirm " the Peace. Gives six Fathom of Wampum.

Then the Axes were buried in the south-east End of the Court-yard, and the *Indians* threw the Earth upon them; after which the Lord *Howard* told them, since now a firm Peace is concluded, we shall hereafter remain Friends, and *Virginia* and *Maryland* will send once in two or three Years to renew it, and some of our *Sachems* shall come, according to your Desire, to confirm it.

Last of all the *Oneydoes*, the *Onnondagas*, and *Cayugas*, jointly sang the Peace-song, with Demonstrations of much Joy; and thanked the Governor of *New-York* for his effectual Mediation with the Governor of *Virginia* in their Favour.

Colonel *Dungan* had gained the Affections of the *Five Nations*, and they esteemed him much.

They desired the *Duke of York*'s Arms to put upon their *Castles*, which, from the Sequel of their Story, we may suppose they were told would save them from the *French*. Colonel *Dungan* desired them to call Home those of their Nations that had settled in *Canada*.* To which they answered, *Corlear* keeps a Correspondence and Friendship with *Canada*, and therefore he can prevail more than we can.

* The *French Priests* had, from Time to Time, persuaded several of the *Five Nations* to leave their own Country, and to settle near *Montreal*; where the *French* are very industrious in encouraging them. Their Numbers have been likewise increased by the Prisoners the *French* have taken in War, and by others that have run from their own Country; because of some Mischief that they had done, or Debts which they owed the Christians. These *Indians* are all profes'd Papists, and for that Reason are commonly called the *praying Indians* by their Countrymen, and they are called *Cahnuagas* by the People of *Albany*, from the Place where they live; the *French* value them on Account of the Intelligence they give in Time of War, and their Knowledge of the Countries.

Let *Corlear* uſe his Endeavours to draw our *Indians* Home to their own Country. CHAP. III.

The Government of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* had appointed Colonel *Stephanus Cortland*, one of the Council of *New-York*, their Agent at this Time, to renew their Friendſhip likewiſe with the *Five Nations*, and to give them ſome ſmall Preſents; which was accordingly done.

The Governor of *New-York*, Colonel *Dungan*, concluded with this Advice to them: Keep a good Underſtanding among yourſelves; if any Difference happen, acquaint me with it, and I will compoſe it. Make no Agreement with the *French*, or any other Nation, without my Knowledge and Approbation. Then he gave the Duke's Arms to be put up at each of their Caſtles, in Hopes it might deter the *French* from attacking them, (as they were threatened from *Canada*) by this ſo manifeſt a Declaration of their being under the Protection of the Crown of *England*, when the two Crowns were in the ſtricteſt Friendſhip; but it is probable the *French* choſe this very Time to attack them, to bring them off from that Confidence they ſeemed to have in the *Engliſh*.

It may be proper, before I proceed, to inſert here alſo a remarkable Speech made by the *Onnondagas* and *Cayugas* to the two Governors, on the ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, *viz.*

" *Brother* Corlear,

" Your *Sachem* is a great *Sachem*, and we are but " a ſmall People; but when the *Engliſh* came firſt " to *Manhatan*,* to *Aragiſke* † and to *Yakokrana-* " *gary* ‖, they were then but a ſmall People, and we " were great. Then, becauſe we found you a good " People, we treated you kindly, and gave you Land; " we hope therefore, now that you are great, and

* *New-York.* † *Virginia.* ‖ *Maryland.*

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" we ſmall, you will protect us from the *French*. If " you do not, we ſhall loſe all our Hunting and " Bevers: The *French* will get all the Bevers. The " Reaſon they are now angry with us is, becauſe we " carry our Bever to our Brethren.

" We have put our Lands and ourſelves under " the Protection of the great *Duke of York*, the Bro- " ther of your great *Sachem*, who is likewiſe a great " *Sachem*.

" We have annexed the *Suſquehana* River, which " we won with the Sword, to this Government; " and we deſire it may be a Branch of the great " Tree that grows in this Place, the Top of which " reaches the Sun, and its Branches ſhelter us from " the *French*, and all other Nations. Our Fire " burns in your Houſes, and your Fire burns with us; " we deſire it may be ſo always. But we will not " that any of the great *Penn*'s People ſettle upon the " *Suſquehana* River, for we have no other Land to " leave to our Children.

" Our young Men are Soldiers, and when they " are provoked, they are like Wolves in the Woods, " as you, *Sachem* of *Virginia*, very well know.

" We have put ourſelves under the great *Sachem* " *Charles*, that lives on the other Side the great " Lake. We give you theſe two white dreſſed " Deer-ſkins, to ſend to the great *Sachem*, that he " may write on them, and put a great red Seal to " them, to confirm what we now do; and put the " *Suſquehana* River above the Falls, and all the reſt " of our Land under the great *Duke of York*, and " give that Land to none elſe. Our Brethren, his " People, have been like Fathers to our Wives and " Children, and have given us Bread when we were " in Need of it; we will not therefore join our- " ſelves, or our Land, to any other Government " but this. We deſire *Corlear*, our Governor, may " ſend this our Propoſition to the great *Sachem* " *Charles*, who dwells on the other Side the great

" Lake,

" Lake, with this Belt of Wampum, and this other Chap.
" ſmaller Belt to the *Duke of York* his Brother: And III.
" we give you, *Corlear*, this Bever, that you may
" ſend over this Propoſition.

" You great Man of *Virginia*, we let you know,
" that great *Penn* did ſpeak to us here in *Corlear*'s
" Houſe by his Agents, and deſired to buy the
" *Suſquehana* River of us, but we would not hark-
" en to him, for we had faſtened it to this Govern-
" ment.

" We deſire you therefore to bear witneſs of what
" we now do, and that we now confirm what we
" have done before. Let your Friend, that lives
" on the other Side the great Lake, know this,
" that we being a free People, though united to the
" *Engliſh*, may give our Lands, and be joined to
" the *Sachem* we like beſt. We give this Bever to
" remember what we ſay."

The *Senekas* arrived ſoon after, and, on the fifth of *Auguſt*, ſpoke to the Lord *Howard* in the following Manner:

" We have heard and underſtood what Miſchief
" hath been done in *Virginia*; we have it as perfect
" as if it were upon our Fingers Ends. O *Corlear!*
" we thank you for having been our Interceſſor, ſo
" that the Axe has not fallen upon us.

" And you *Aſſarigoa*, great *Sachem of Virginia*,
" we thank you for burying all Evil in the Pit. We
" are informed, that the *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *On-*
" *nondagas*, and *Cayugas*, have buried the Axe al-
" ready; now we that live remoteſt off, are come
" to do the ſame, and to include in this Chain the
" *Cahnawaas*, your Friends. We deſire therefore,
" that an Axe, on our Part, may be buried with one
" of *Aſſarigoa*'s. O *Corlear! Corlear!* we thank you
" for laying hold of one End of the Axe; and we
" thank you, great Governor of *Virginia*, not only
" for throwing aſide the Axe, but more eſpecially
" for your putting all Evil from your Heart. Now

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" we have a new Chain, a ſtrong and a ſtraight " Chain, that cannot be broken. The Tree of " Peace is planted ſo firmly, that it cannot be " moved, let us on both Sides hold the Chain " faſt.

" We underſtand what you ſaid of the great " *Sachem*, that lives on the other Side the great " Water.

" You tell us, that the *Cahnawaas* will come " hither, to ſtrengthen the Chain. Let them not " make any Excuſe, that they are old and feeble, or " that their Feet are ſore. If the old *Sachems* can- " not, let the young Men come. We ſhall not fail " to come hither, tho' we live fartheſt off, and then " the new Chain will be ſtronger and brighter.

" We underſtand, that becauſe of the Miſchief " that has been done to the People and Caſtles of " *Virginia* and *Maryland*, we muſt not come near " the Heads of your Rivers, nor near your Planta- " tions, but keep at the Foot of the Mountains; " for tho' we lay down our Arms, as Friends, we " ſhall not be truſted for the future, but looked on " as Robbers. We agree however to this Propoſition, " and ſhall wholly ſtay away from *Virginia*: And " this we do in Gratitude to *Corlear*, who has been " at ſo great Pains to perſuade you, great Governor " of *Virginia*, to forget what is paſt. You are wiſe " in giving Ear to *Corlear*'s good Advice, for we " ſhall now go a Path which was never trod be- " fore.

" We have now done ſpeaking to *Corlear*, and " the Governor of *Virginia*; let the Chain be for " ever kept clean and bright by him, and we ſhall " do the ſame.

" The other Nations from the *Mohawks* Country " to the *Cayugas*, have delivered up the *Suſquehana* " River, and all that Country, to *Corlear*'s Go- " vernment. We confirm what they have done by " giving this Belt. "

Coll.

Coll. *Bird*, one of the Council of *Virginia*, and *Edmond Jennings Esq*; *Attorney General* of that Province, came with four *Indian Sachems*, (according to the Lord *Howard*'s Promise) to renew and confirm the Peace, and met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* in *September* 1685.

Coll. *Bird* accused them of having again broke their Promise, by taking an *Indian* Girl from an *English* Man's House, and four *Indian* Boys Prisoners.

They excused this, by its being done by the Parties that were out when the Peace was concluded, who knew nothing of it; which Accident they had provided against in their Articles. They said, the four Boys were given to the Relations of those Men that were lost; and it would be difficult to obtain their Restoration: But they at last promised to deliver them up.

The *Senakas* and *Mohawks* declared themselves free of any Blame, and chid the other Nations.

So that we may still observe the Influence which the *French* Priests had obtained over those other Nations, and to what Christian like Purpose they used it.

The *Mohawks* Speaker said, "Where shall I seek "the Chain of Peace? Where shall I find it but "upon our * Path? And whither doth our Path "lead us, but into this House? This is a House of "Peace;" after this he sang all the Links of the Chain over. He afterwards sang by Way of Admonition to the *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*, and concluded all with a Song to the *Virginia Indians*.

The *French Priests* however still employed their Influence over the *Onnondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*; and it was easy for them to spirit up the *Indians* (natural-

* The *Mohawks* Country is situated between the other Nations and *Albany*.

ly

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ly revengeful) againſt their old Enemies. A Party of the *Oneydoes* went out two Years after this againſt the *Wayanoak Indians*, Friends of *Virginia*, and killed ſome of the People of *Virginia*, who aſſiſted thoſe *Indians*. They took ſix Priſoners, but reſtored them at *Albany*, with an Excuſe, that they did not know they were Friends of *Virginia*. But Coll. *Dungan* on this Occaſion told them, That he only had kept all the *Engliſh* in *North-America* from joining together to deſtroy them; that if ever he ſhould hear of the like Complaint, he would dig up the Hatchet, and join with the reſt of the *Engliſh* to cut them off Root and Branch; for there were many Complaints made of him to the King by the *Engliſh*, as well as by the Governor of *Canada*, for his favouring of them.

We have now gone through the material Tranſactions which the *Five Nations* had with the *Engliſh*, in which we find the *Engliſh* purſuing nothing but peaceable and Chriſtian-like Meaſures; and the *Five Nations* (tho' Barbarians) living with the People of *New-York*, like good Neighbours and faithful Friends, and generally with all the *Engliſh* alſo, except when they were influenced by the *Jeſuites*; at the ſame Time, one cannot but admire the Zeal, Courage, and Reſolution of theſe Jeſuites, that would adventure to live among *Indians* at War with their Nation; and the better to carry their Purpoſes, to comply with all the Humours and Manners of ſuch a wild People, ſo as not to be diſtinguiſhed by Strangers from meer *Indians*. One of them, named *Milet*, remained with the *Oneydoes* till after the Year 1694; he was advanced to the Degree of a *Sachem*, and had ſo great an Influence over them, that the other Nations could not prevail with them to part with him. While he lived with them, the *Oneydoes* were frequently turned againſt the Southern *Indians* (Friends of the *Engliſh* ſouthern Colonies)

and

and were always wavering in their Resolutions against the *French* at *Canada*.

We shall now see what Effect the Policy of the *French* had, who pursued very different Measures from the *English*.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. De la Barre's *Expedition, and some remarkable Transactions in* 1684.

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THE *French*, in the Time they were at Peace with the *Five Nations*, built their Forts at *Taidonderaghi* and *Missilimakinak*, and made a Settlement there. They carried on their Commerce among the numerous Nations that live on the Banks of the great Lakes, and the Banks of the *Missisipi*; they not only prosecuted their Trade among these Nations, but did all they could to secure their Obedience, and to make them absolutely subject to the Crown of *France*, by building Forts at the considerable Passes, and placing small Garisons in them. They took in short all the Precautions in their Power, not only to restrain the *Indians* by Force, but likewise to gain their Affections, by sending *Missionaries* among them. The only Obstruction they met with was from the *Five Nations*, who introduced the *English* of *New-York* into the Lakes to trade with the *Indians* that lived round them. This gave the *French* much Uneasiness, because they foresaw, that the *English* would not only prove dangerous Rivals, but that the Advantages which they had in Trade, beyond what it was possible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to have, would enable the People of *New-York* so far to undersel them, that their Trade would soon be ruined, and all the Interest lost which they had gained with so much Labour and Expence. The *Five Nations* likewise continued in War

CHAP. IV. War with many of the *Nations*, with the *Chictaghicks* particularly, who yielded the most profitable Trade to the *French*; and as often as they discovered any of the *French* carrying Ammunition towards these Nations, they fell upon them, and took all their Powder, Lead and Arms from them. This made the *French* Traders afraid of travelling, and prevented their *Indians* from hunting, and also lessened the Opinion they had of the *French* Power, when they found that the *French* were not able to protect them against the Insults of the *Five Nations*.

The *Senakas* lie next to the Lakes, and neareſt to the Nations with whom the *French* carried on the greateſt Trade, theſe People were ſo averſe to that Nation, that they would never receive any Prieſts among them, and of Conſequence were moſt firmly attach'd to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, who ſupplied them with Arms and Powder (the Means to be revenged of their Enemies.) For theſe Reaſons Mr. *De la Barre* (Governor of *Canada*) ſent a Meſſenger to Coll. *Dungan*, to complain of the Injuries the *Senakas* had done to the *French*, and to ſhew the Neceſſity he was under to bring the *Five Nations* to Reaſon by Force of Arms. This Meſſenger happening to arrive at the Time the *Indians* met the Lord *Howard* at *Albany*, Coll. *Dungan* told the *Senakas* the Complaints that the *French* Governor made of them. To which they gave him the following Anſwer, in Preſence of Mr. *De la Barre*'s Meſſenger, on the 5th of *Auguſt* 1684.

" We were ſent for, and are come, and have " heard what you have ſaid to us, that *Corlear* hath " great Complaints of us, both from *Virginia* and " *Canada*. What they complain of from *Canada* " may poſſibly be true, that ſome of our young Men " have taken ſome of their Goods, but *Yonnendio* the " Governor of *Canada*, is the Cauſe of it. He not only " permits his People to carry Ammunition, Guns,

" Powder

" Powder, Lead, and Axes to the *Tuihtuih-ronoons* * " our Enemies, but ſends them thither on purpoſe. " Theſe Guns which he ſends knock our Bever Hunt- " ers on the Head, and our Enemies carry the Bevers " to *Canada* that we would have brought to our Bre- " thren. Our Bever Hunters are Soldiers, and could " bear this no longer. They met ſome *French* in their " Way to our Enemies, and very near them, carrying " Ammunition, which our Men took from them. " This is agreeable to our Cuſtoms in War; and we " may therefore openly own it, tho' we know not " whether it be practiſed by the Chriſtians in ſuch " like Caſes.

" When the Governor of *Canada* ſpeaks to us of " the Chain, he calls us Children, and ſaith, I am " your Father, you muſt hold faſt the Chain, and I " will do the ſame: I will protect you as a Father " doth his Children. Is this Protection, to ſpeak " thus with his Lips, and at the ſame Time to " knock us on the Head, by aſſiſting our Enemies " with Ammunition?

" He always ſays, I am your Father, and you " are my Children; and yet he is angry with his " Children, for taking theſe Goods.

" But, *O Corlear*! *O Aſſarigoa*! we muſt com- " plain to you; you *Corlear* are a Lord, and go- " vern this Country; is it juſt that our Father is " going to fight with us for theſe Things, or is it " well done? We rejoiced when *La Sal* was ſent " over the great Water; and when *Perot* was re- " moved, becauſe they had furniſhed our Enemies " with Ammunition; but we are diſappointed in our " Hopes, for we find our Enemies are ſtill ſupplied. " Is this well done? Yea, he often forbids us to make " War on any of the Nations with whom he trades;

* *Ronoon* ſignifies Nation or People, in the Language of the *Five Nations*; they ſay *Tiuhtuih-ronoon*, *Chichighik-ronoon*, *Deonondadik-ronoon*, &c.

" and

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" and at the same Time furnishes them with all Sorts " of Ammunition, to enable them to destroy us.

" Thus far in Answer to the Complaint the Go- " vernor of *Canada* hath made of us to *Corlear*. " *Corlear* said to us, that Satisfaction must be made " to the *French* for the Mischief we have done them. " This he said before he heard our Answer. Now " let him that hath Inspection over all our Coun- " tries, on whom our Eyes are fixed, let him, even " *Corlear*, judge and determine. If you say that it " must be paid, we shall pay it, but we cannot live " without free Bever Hunting.

" *Corlear*, hear what we say, we thank you for " the Duke's Arms, which you have given us to be " put in our Castles, as a Defence to them. You com- " mand them. Have we wandered out of the Way, " as the Governor of *Canada* says? We do not " threaten him with War, as he threatens us. What " shall we do? Shall we run away, or shall we " sit still in our Houses? What shall we do? we " speek to him that governs and commands us.

" Now *Corlear*, and *Assarigoa*, and all People here " present, remember what we have answered to the " Complaints of the Governor of *Canada*; yea, we " wish that what we here said may come to his " Ears." Then they gave a Belt.

Monsieur *De la Barre* at this Time was gone, with all the Force of *Canada*, to *Cadarackui Fort*, and ordered the three Vessels to be repaired which the *French* had built on *Cadarackui Lake*: His Design was to frighten the *Five Nations* into his own Terms, by the Appearance of the *French* Army, which consisted of 600 Soldiers of the regular Troops, 400 *Indians*, and 400 Men that carried Provisions, besides 300 Men that he left to secure *Cadarackui Fort*, and the western *Indians*, that he expected would join him. But while he was at this Fort, the Fatigue of travelling in the Month of *August*, together with the Unhealthiness of that Place (the Country thereabout

about being very marſhy) where he tarried ſix Weeks, occaſioned ſo great a Sickneſs in his Army, that he found himſelf unable to perform any Thing but by Treaty; and therefore ſent Orders to Monſr. *Dulhut*, who was come from *Miſſilimakinak* with 600 Men, *French* and *Indians*, to ſtop. Monſr. *De la Barre* paſſed acroſs the Lake, with as many Men as were able to travel, and arrived at the River which the *French* call *La Famine*, by the *Indians* called *Kaihohage*, which falls into the South Side of *Cadarackui Lake*, about thirty Miles from *Onnondago*. There were two Villages of the *Five Nations* on the North Side of the Lake, about fifteen Miles from the *French* Fort, conſiſting of thoſe *Indians* that had the moſt Inclination to the *French*: They provided the *French* Army with Proviſions, while they remained at the Fort; but it is probable, ſent an Account to their own Nations of every Thing that happened; and that this was the Reaſon of the Uſage they afterwards met with from the *French*.

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When Monſr. *De la Barre* ſent to Coll. *Dungan*, he was in Hopes, from the ſtrict Alliance that was then between the Crowns of *England* and *France*, and from Coll. *Dungan*'s being a Papiſt, that he would at leaſt ſit ſtill till he had reduced the *Five Nations*. But none of theſe Reaſons permitted that Gentleman to be eaſy, while the *French* attempted ſuch Things, as in their Conſequences would be of the higheſt Degree prejudicial to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and might put all the *Engliſh* Colonies in *America* in Danger. Wherefore he diſpatched the publick Interpreter, with Orders to do every Thing in his Power to prevent the *Five Nations* going to treat with Monſr. *De la Barre*.

The Interpreter ſucceeded in his Deſign with the *Mohawks*, and with the *Senakas*, who promiſed that they would not go near the *French* Governor: But he had not the like Succeſs with the *Onnondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*, who had received the *French*

CHAP. IV. Prieſts, for they would not hear the Interpreter, but in Preſence of the *French* Prieſts, and Monſr. *la Main*, and three other *Frenchmen* that Monſr. *De la Barre* had ſent to perſuade them to meet him at *Kaihohage*; they gave the following Anſwer to the Interpreter.

" *Arie*, you are *Corlear's Meſſenger*, * *Ohqueſſe* " (Monſr. *la Maine*) is the Governor of *Canada*'s; " and there † ſits our Father; *Yonnondio* acquainted " us ſome Time ago, that he would ſpeak with us, " before he would undertake any Thing againſt the " *Senakas*. Now he hath ſent for all the Nations " to ſpeak with him in Friendſhip, and that at a " Place not far from *Onnondaga*, even at *Kaihohage*. " But our Brother *Corlear* tells us, that we muſt " not meet the Governor of *Canada* without his " Permiſſion; and that if *Yonnondio* have any Thing " to ſay to us, he muſt firſt ſend to *Corlear* for Leave " to ſpeak with us. *Yonnondio* has ſent long ago to " us to ſpeak with him, and he has lately repeated " that Deſire by *Onniſſantie* the Brother of our Fa- " ther ‖ *Twirhaerſira* that ſits there; he has not only " entreated us by our Father, but by two praying " *Indians*, one an *Onnondaga*, the other the Son of " an old *Mohawk Sachem*, *Connondowe*. They brought " five great Belts of Wampum, not a Fathom or " two only, as you bring. Now *Ohqueſſe* has been " ſent with three *Frenchmen*; *Yonnondio* not being " content with all this, has likewiſe ſent *Dennehoot*, " and two other *Mohawks*, to perſuade us to meet " him, and to ſpeak with him of good Things. " Should we not go to him after all this Intreaty, " when he is come ſo far, and ſo near to us? Cer- " tainly if we do not, we ſhall provoke his Wrath, " and not deſerve his Goodneſs. You ſay we are

* That is, the *Partridge*. † Pointing to the *Jeſuite*. ‖ The *Indians* commonly gave a new Name to any Perſon they receive or adapt into their Nation. This is the *Jeſuites Indian* Name, the Interpretation whereof I know not.

Subjects

" Subjects to the King of *England* and *Duke of* CHAP.
" *York*, but we ſay we are Brethren. We muſt V.
" take Care of ourſelves. Thoſe Arms fixed upon
" the Poſts, without the Gate, cannot defend us
" againſt the Arms of *la Barre*. Brother *Corlear*,
" we tell you, that we ſhall bind a Covenant Chain
" to our Arm, and to his, as thick as that Poſt,
" (pointing to a Poſt of the Houſe) be not diſſatiſ-
" fied; ſhould we not embrace this Happineſs of-
" fered us, *viz.* Peace, in the Place of War; yea,
" we ſhall take the Evil Doers, the *Senekas*, by the
" Hand, and *la Barre* likewiſe, and their Ax and his
" Sword ſhall be thrown into a deep Water. We
" wiſh our Brother *Corlear* were preſent, but it ſeems
" the Time will not permit of it."

Accordingly *Garangula*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Onondaga's*, with thirty Warriors, went with Mr. *Le Maine*, to meet the Governor of *Canada* at *Kaihohage*. After he had been two Days in the *French* Camp, Monſr. *la Barre* ſpoke to him as follows, (the *French* Officers making a Semi-circle on one Side, while *Garangula*, with his Warriors, compleated the Circle on the other.

* *Monſr.* De la Barre's *Speech to* Garangula.

" The King, my Maſter, being informed that the
" *Five Nations* have often infringed the Peace, has
" ordered me to come hither with a Guard, and to
" ſend *Ohgueſſe* to the *Onondagas*, to bring the chief
" *Sachem* to my Camp. The Intention of the great
" King is, that you and I may ſmoke the *Calumet* †

* Voyages du *Baron de la Hontan*, Tome 1. Letter 7.

† The *Calumet* is a large ſmoaking Pipe made of Marble, moſt commonly of a dark red, well poliſhed, ſhaped ſomewhat in the Form of a Hatchet, and adorned with large Feathers of ſeveral Colours. It is uſed in all the *Indian* Treaties with Strangers, and as a Flag of Truce between contending Parties, which all the *Indians* think a very high Crime to violate. Theſe *Calumets* are generally of nice Workmanſhip, and were in Uſe before the *Indians* knew

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" of Peace together, but on this Condition, that you " promiſe me, in the Name of the *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, " *Onondagas*, and *Mohawks*, to give intire Satiſ- " faction and Reparation to his Subjects; and for " the future never to moleſt them.

" The *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, " and *Mohawks* have robbed and abuſed all the " Traders that were paſſing to the *Illinois* and " *Umamies*, and other *Indian* Nations, the Children " of my King. They have acted, on theſe Occaſi- " ons, contrary to the Treaty of Peace with my Pre- " deceſſor. I am ordered therefore to demand Sa- " tisfaction, and to tell them, that in caſe of Re- " fuſal, or their plundering us any more, that I " have expreſs Orders to declare War. This Belt " confirms my Words. The Warriors of the *Five* " *Nations* have conducted the *Engliſh* into the Lakes, " which belong to the King, my Maſter, and brought " the *Engliſh* among the Nations that are his Chil- " dren, to deſtroy the Trade of his Subjects, and " to withdraw theſe Nations from him. They have " carried the *Engliſh* thither, notwithſtanding the " Prohibition of the late Governor of *New-York*, " who foreſaw the Riſque that both they and you " would run. I am willing to forget theſe Things, " but if ever the like ſhall happen for the future, I " have expreſs Orders to declare War againſt you. " This Belt confirms my Words. Your Warriors have " made ſeveral barbarous Incurſions on the *Illinois* " and *Umamies*; they have maſſacred Men, Wo- " men, and Children, and have made many of theſe " Nations Priſoners, who thought themſelves ſafe " in their Villages in Time of Peace. Theſe People, " who are my King's Children, muſt not be your " Slaves; you muſt give them their Liberty, and

knew any Thing of the Chriſtians; for which Reaſon we are at a Loſs to conceive by what Means they pierced theſe Pipes, and ſhaped them ſo finely, before they had the Uſe of Iron.

" ſend them back into their own Country. If the CHAP.
" *Five Nations* ſhall refuſe to do this, I have expreſs IV.
" Orders to declare War againſt them. This Belt
" confirms my Words.

" This is what I have to ſay to *Garangula*, that he
" may carry to the *Senekas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*,
" *Cayugas*, and *Mohawks* the Declaration which
" the King, my Maſter, has commanded me to
" make. He doth not wiſh them to force him
" to ſend a great Army to *Cadarackui* Fort, to be-
" gin a War which muſt be fatal to them. He
" would be ſorry that this Fort, that was the
" Work of Peace, ſhould become the Priſon of your
" Warriors. We muſt endeavour, on both Sides,
" to prevent ſuch Misfortunes. The *French*, who
" are the Brethren and Friends of the *Five Nations*,
" will never trouble their Repoſe, provided that the
" Satisfaction which I demand be given, and that
" the Treaties of Peace be hereafter obſerved. I
" ſhall be extreamly grieved if my Words do not
" produce the Effect which I expect from them;
" for then I ſhall be obliged to join with the Go-
" vernor of *New-York*, who is commanded by his
" Maſter to aſſiſt me, and burn the Caſtles of the
" *Five Nations*, and deſtroy you. This Belt con-
" firms my Words.

Garangala was very much ſurpriſed to find the ſoft Words of the *Jeſuit*, and of the Governor's Meſſengers, turned to ſuch threatening Language. This was deſigned to ſtrike Terror into the *Indians*; but *Garangula* having good Information from thoſe of the *Five Nations* living near *Cadarackui* Fort, of all the Sickneſs and other Misfortunes which afflicted the *French* Army, it was far from producing the deſigned Effect. All the Time that *Monſieur de la Barre* ſpoke, *Garangula* kept his Eyes fixed on the End of his Pipe; as ſoon as the Governor had done ſpeaking, he roſe up, and having walked five or ſix Times round the Circle, he returned to his

CHAP. V. Place, where he ſpoke ſtanding, while *Monſieur de la Barre* kept his Elbow-Chair.

Garangula's *Anſwer.*

" *Yonnondio,*

" I honour you, and the Warriors that are with " me all likewiſe honour you. Your Interpreter " has finiſhed your Speech; I now begin mine. My " Words make haſte to reach your Ears, hearken to " them.

" *Yonnondio,* you muſt have believed, when you " left *Quebeck,* that the Sun had burnt up all the " Foreſts which render our Country inacceſſible to " the *French,* or that the Lakes had ſo far over- " flown their Banks, that they had ſurrounded our " Caſtles, and that it was impoſſible for us to get " out of them. Yes, *Yonnondio,* ſurely you muſt " have dreamt ſo, and the Curioſity of ſeeing ſo " great a Wonder has brought you ſo far. Now you " are undeceived, ſince that I and the Warriors here " preſent are come to aſſure you, that the *Senekas,* " *Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneydoes,* and *Mohawks* " are yet alive. I thank you, in their Name, for " bringing back into their Country the *Calumet,* " which your Predeceſſor received from their Hands. " It was happy for you, that you left Under- " ground that murdering Hatchet, that has been " ſo often dyed in the Blood of the *French.* Hear, " *Yonnondio,* I do not ſleep, I have my Eyes open, " and the Sun, which enlightens me, diſcovers to " me a great Captain at the Head of a Company of " Soldiers, who ſpeaks as if he were dreaming. " He ſays, that he only came to the Lake to ſmoke " on the great *Calumet* with the *Onondagas.* But " *Garangula* ſays, that he ſees the contrary, that " it was to knock them on the Head, if Sickneſs " had not weakened the Arms of the *French.*

" I ſee *Yonnondio* raving in a Camp of ſick Men, CHAP.
" whoſe Lives the great Spirit has ſaved, by in- V.
" flicting this Sickneſs on them. Hear, *Yonnondio*,
" our Women had taken their Clubs, our Children
" and old Men had carried their Bows and Arrows
" into the Heart of your Camp, if our Warriors
" had not diſarmed them, and kept them back,
" when your Meſſenger, *Ohgueſſe*, came to our
" Caſtles. It is done, and I have ſaid it. Hear,
" *Yonnondio*, we plundered none of the *French*, but
" thoſe that carried Guns, Powder, and Ball to the
" *Iwikties* and *Chictaghicks*, becauſe thoſe Arms
" might have coſt us our Lives. Herein we follow
" the Example of the Jeſuits, who ſtave all the
" Caggs of Rum brought to our Caſtles, leſt the
" drunken *Indians* ſhould knock them on the Head.
" Our Warriors have not Bevers enough to pay for
" all theſe Arms, that they have taken, and our
" old Men are not afraid of the War. This Belt
" preſerves my Words.

" We carried the *Engliſh* into our Lakes, to trade
" there with the *Utawawas* and *Quatoghies*, as the
" *Adirondacks* brought the *French* to our Caſtles, to
" carry on a Trade which the *Engliſh* ſay is theirs.
" We are born free, we neither depend on *Yonnon-*
" *dio* nor *Corlear*.

" We may go where we pleaſe, and carry with
" us whom we pleaſe, and buy and ſell what we
" pleaſe: If your Allies be your Slaves, uſe them
" as ſuch, command them to receive no other but
" your People. This Belt preſerves my Words.

" We knock'd the *Twihtwies* and *Chictaghicks* on
" the Head, becauſe they had cut down the Trees
" of Peace, which were the Limits of our Country.
" They have hunted Bevers on our Lands: They
" have acted contrary to the Cuſtoms of all *Indi-*
" *ans*; for they left none of the Bevers alive, they
" killed both Male and Female. They brought

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" the *Satanas* * into their Country, to take Part " with them, after they had concerted ill Deſigns " againſt us. We have done leſs than either the " *Engliſh* or *French*, that have uſurped the Lands " of ſo many *Indian* Nations, and chaſed them from " their own Country. This Belt preſerves my " Words. Hear, *Yonnondio*, what I ſay is the Voice " of all the *Five Nations*; hear what they anſwer, " open your Ears to what they ſpeak: The *Sene-* " *kas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Mo-* " *hawks* ſay, that when they buried the Hatchet at " *Cadarackui* (in the Preſence of your Predeceſſor) " in the Middle of the Fort, they planted the Tree " of Peace in the ſame Place, to be there carefully " preſerved, that, in Place of a Retreat for Sol- " diers, that Fort might be a Rendezvous for Mer- " chants; that, in Place of Arms and Ammu- " nition of War, Bevers and Merchandiſe ſhould " only enter there.

" Hear, *Yonnondio*, take Care for the future, " that ſo great a Number of Soldiers, as appear " there, do not choak the Tree of Peace planted " in ſo ſmall a Fort. It will be a great Loſs, if af- " ter it had ſo eaſily taken Root, you ſhould ſtop " its Growth, and prevent its covering your Coun- " try and ours with its Branches. I aſſure you, in " the Name of the *Five Nations*, that our Warriors " ſhall dance to the *Calumet* of Peace under its " Leaves, and ſhall remain quiet on their Matts, " and ſhall never dig up the Hatchet, till their Bre- " thren, *Yonnondio* or *Corlear*, ſhall either jointly " or ſeparately endeavour to attack the Country, " which the great Spirit has given to our An- " ceſtors. This Belt preſerves my Words, and this " other, the Authority which the *Five Nations* has " given me."

* Called *Sawanens* by the *French*.

Then

Then *Garangula* addreſſing himſelf to Monſieur *le Maine*, ſaid:

"Take Courage, *Ohgueſſe*, you have Spirit, "ſpeak, explain my Words, forget nothing, tell "all that your Brethren and Friends ſay to *Yon-* "*nondio*, your Governor, by the Mouth of *Ga-* "*rangula*, who loves you, and deſires you to ac- "cept of this Preſent of Bever, and take Part with "me in my Feaſt, to which I invite you. This "Preſent of Bever is ſent to *Yonnondio* on the Part "of the *Five Nations*."

When *Garangula*'s Harangue was explained to Monſieur *de la Barre*, he returned to his Tent, much inraged at what he had heard.

Garangula feaſted the *French* Officers, and then went Home, and Monſieur *de la Barre* ſet out in his Way towards *Monreal*; and as ſoon as the General was imbarked, with the few Soldiers that remained in Health, the Militia made the beſt of their Way to their own Habitations, without any Order or Diſcipline.

Thus a very chargeable and fatiguing Expedition (which was to ſtrike the Terror of the *French* Name into the ſtubborn Hearts of the *Five Nations*) ended in a Scold between the *French* General and an old *Indian*.

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The Engliſh *attempt to trade in the Lakes, and the* French *attack the* Senekas.

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THE *Marquis de Nonville* having now ſucceeded Monſieur *de la Barre*, in the Year 1685, and having brought a conſiderable Reinforcement of Soldiers with him, reſolved to recover the Honour the

CHAP. V. *French* had loſt in the laſt Expedition, and revenge the Slaughter the *Five Nations* continued to make of the *Twihtwies* and *Chictaghicks*, who had put themſelves under the *French* Protection; for the *Five Nations* having intirely ſubdued the *Chictaghicks* *, after a ſix Years War, they reſolved next to fall upon the *Twihtwies*, and to call them to an Account for the Diſturbance they had given ſome of their People in their Bever Hunting. The *Five Nations* have few or no Bever in their own Country, and for that Reaſon are obliged to hunt at a great Diſtance, which often occaſions Diſputes with their Neighbours about the Property of the Bever. The Bever is the moſt valuable Branch of the *Indian* Trade, and as the *Twihtwies* carried their Bevers to the *French*, the *Engliſh* encouraged the *Five Nations* in theſe Expeditions, and particularly, in the Begining of the Year 1687, made the *Five Nations* a Preſent of a Barrel of Powder, when their whole Force was preparing to go againſt the *Twihtwies*. The *Engliſh* were the better pleaſed with this War, becauſe they thought that it would divert the *Five Nations* from the *Virginia Indians*: But the *French* were reſolved to ſupport their Friends more effectually by a powerful Diverſion, and to change the Seat of the War.

For this Purpoſe Mr. *de Nonville* ſent, in *May* 1687, great Quantities of Proviſion to *Cadarackui* Fort, and gathered the whole Force of *Canada* to *Montreal*. His Army conſiſted of fifteen hundred *French* of the regular Troops and Militia, and five hundred *Indians* that lived near *Montreal* and *Quebeck*. He ſent likewiſe Orders to the Commandant at *Miſſilimakinak* to aſſemble all the Nations living round him, and to march them to *Oniagara*, in order to join the Forces of *Canada* deſigned againſt the *Senekas*, and the other Officers poſted a-

* Called *Illinois* by the *French*.

mong

mong the *Indians* Weſtward had the like Orders. CHAP. V.

The *Twihtwies* received the Hatchet with Joy from the Hands of the *French* Officer. The *Outagamies*, *Kikabous*, and *Maſkuticks*, who were not uſed to Canoes, were at firſt perſuaded to join the *Twihtwies*, who were to march by Land to *Teuchſagrondie*, where there was a *French* Fort, at which they were to be ſupplied with Ammunition. But after the *French* Officer left them, the *Utagamies* and *Maſkuticks* were diſſuaded by ſome of the *Mahikander Indians*, who happened to be with a neighbouring Nation at that Time.

The *Putewatemies*, *Malhominies*, and *Puans* offered themſelves willingly, and went to the Rendezvous at *Miſſilimakinak*; where they were received by the *Utawawas* with all the Marks of Honour uſually paid to Soldiers. Though the *Utawawas* had no Inclination to the preſent Enterprize; they could not tell however how to appear againſt it, otherwiſe than by inventing what Delays they could, to prevent their March.

In the mean while a Canoe arrived, which was ſent by Mr. *de Nonville*, with his Orders to the Officers. This Canoe, in her Paſſage, diſcovered ſome *Engliſh*, commanded by Major *Mac Gergory*, in their Way to *Teiodonderaghie*. The *Engliſh* thought (after they had an Account of the new Alliance their King had entered into with the *French*) that the *French* would not diſturb them in proſecuting a Trade with the *Indians* every where, and that the Trade would be equally free and open to both Nations. With theſe Hopes a conſiderable Number of Adventurers went out, under the Conduct of Major *Mac Gergory*, to trade with the *Indians* that lived on the Banks of the Lakes; and that they might be the more welcome, perſuaded the *Five Nations* to ſet all the *Dionondadie* Priſoners at Liberty, who went along with the *Engliſh*, and conducted them

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them towards *Missilimakinak*, or *Teiodonderaghie*; but the *English* found themselves mistaken, for the *French* Commandant at *Teiodonderaghie*, as soon as he had Notice of this, sent three hundred *French* to intercept the *English*.

* The *Utawawas* and *Dionondadies* having likewise an Account of the *English*, designed to support their own Independency, and to incourage the *English* Trade. The return of the *Dionondadie* Prisoners made that Nation very hearty in favouring the *English*, they therefore marched immediately off, with Design to join Major *Mac Gergory*; but the *Utawawas* were divided in their Inclinations, their Chief, with about thirty more, joined the *French*, the rest remained in suspence, and stood neuter.

The *Utawawas* thus wavering, disconcerted the Measures of the *Dionondadies*, for they began to suspect the *Utawawas*, and therefore immediately returned to secure their Wives and Children that they had left near the *French* Fort with the *Utawawas*. The *English* and their Effects were seized without any Opposition, and were carried to the *French* Fort at *Teiodonderaghie*.

The *English* brought great Quantities of Rum with them, (which the *Indians* love more than their Lives) and the *French* being afraid, that if the *Indians* took to Drinking, they would grow ungovernable, did what they could to keep them from it. They were most concerned that the *Putewatemies* (who had no Knowledge of the *English*, or of that bewitching Liquor, and were firmly attached to the *French*) should not taste it.

The *Utawawas* still contrived Delays to the March, and having got some of the *Putewatemies* privately by themselves, they offered them a Cag of Rum, and said: "We are all Brethren, we ought to make

* History de le Amerique Septentrionale, par Mr. de la Poterie, Tome ii. Cap. 16.

"one

" one Body, and to have one Soul. The *French* CHAP.
" invite us to war againſt the *Five Nations*, with V.
" Deſign to make us Slaves, and that we ſhould
" make ourſelves the Tools to effect it. As ſoon
" as they ſhall have deſtroyed the *Five Nations*,
" they will no longer obſerve any Meaſures with us,
" but uſe us like thoſe Beaſts they tie to their Ploughs.
" Let us leave them to themſelves, and they will
" never be able to accompliſh any Thing againſt the
" *Five Nations*."

But the *Putewatemies* had entertained ſuch Notions of the *French*, as made them deaf to the Politicks of the *Utawawas*.

The *French* however grew jealous of theſe Caballings, and therefore reſolved to delay their March no longer, and would not ſtay one Day more for the *Utawawas*, who deſired only ſo much Time to pitch their Canoes, and went away without them.

Mr. *Tonti*, Commandant among the *Chictaghicks*, met with another Party of the *Engliſh* of about thirty Men, in Lake *Erie*, as he marched with the *Chicktaghicks* and *Twihtwies*, and other neighbouring Nations, to the general Rendezvous. He fell upon the *Engliſh*, plundered them, and took them Priſoners. The *French* divided all the Merchandize among the *Indians*, but kept the Rum to themſelves, and got all drunk. The *Deonondadie* Priſoners, that conducted the *Engliſh*, joined with the *Mihikander Indians* that were among Mr. *Tonti*'s *Indians* (who had privately diſſuaded about twenty of the neighbouring Nations from going with *Tonti*) and endeavoured to perſuade all the *Indians* to fall upon the *French*, while they were drunk, and deſtroy them; ſaying, the *French* are a proud, imperious, covetous People, that ſell their Goods at an extravagant Price; the *Engliſh* are a good natured honeſt People, and will furniſh you with every Thing at reaſonable Rates. But theſe Arguments were to no Purpoſe, for theſe far *Indians* had

enter-

CHAP. V. entertained an extraordinary Opinion of the *French* Power, and knew nothing of the *Engliſh*.

The *French* and *Putewatemies* being gone from *Teiodonderaghie*, the *Utawawas* began to be afraid of the *French* Reſentment, and therefore, the better to keep up the Colour they had put on their Delays, marched over Land, with all poſſible Expedition, to the general Rendezvous near *Oniagara*, where all the *French* Force, both Chriſtians and *Indians*, was to meet.

The *Five Nations* being informed of the *French* Preparations, laid aſide their Deſign againſt the *Twihtwies*, and prepared to give the *French* a warm Reception. Upon this the Prieſt at *Onondaga* left them, but the Prieſt at *Oneydo* had the Courage to ſtay. The *Senekas* came to *Albany* to provide Ammunition, and the Commiſſioners made them a Preſent of a conſiderable Quantity of Powder and Lead, beſides what they purchaſed. They were under a great deal of Concern when they took Leave of the Commiſſioners, and ſaid, "Since we are to "expect no other Aſſiſtance from our Brethren, "we muſt recommend our Wives and Children to "you, who will fly to you, if any Misfortune ſhall "happen to us. It may be we ſhall never ſee you "again; for we are reſolved to behave ſo, as our "Brethren ſhall have no Reaſon to be aſhamed of "us."

We muſt now return to Monſieur *de Nonville*'s Army.

Monſieur *Campagnie* marched eight or ten Days before the reſt of the Army, with between two and three hundred *Cannadians*. As ſoon as they arrived at *Cadarackui*, they ſurpriſed two Villages of the *Five Nations*, that were ſettled about eight Leagues from that Place, to prevent their giving any Intelligence to their own Nation of the *French* Preparations, or of the State of their Army, as it was ſuppoſed they did in the laſt Expedition under Monſieur

sieur *de la Barre*. These People were surprised when they least expected it, and by them from whom they feared no Harm, because they had settled there at the Invitation, and on the Faith of the *French*. They were carried in cold Blood to the Fort, and tied to Stakes, to be tormented by the *French Indians*, (Christians, as they call them) while they continued singing in their country Manner, and upbraiding the *French* with their Perfidy and Ingratitude. CHAP. V.

While Monsieur *de Nonville* was at *Cadarackui* Fort, he had an Account, that the *Chicktaghicks* and *Twihtwies* waited for the *Quatoghies* and *Utawawas* at * Lake *St. Clair*, with whom they designed to march to the general Rendezvous, at the Mouth of the *Senekas* River. For this Expedition was chiefly designed against the *Senekas*, who had absolutely refused to meet Monsieur *de la Barre*, and were most firmly attached to the *English*. The *Senekas*, for this Reason, were designed to be made Examples of the *French* Resentment to all the other Nations of *Indians*.

The Messenger having assured the General, that it was Time to depart, in order to meet with the western *Indians*, that came to his Assistance, he set out the twenty-third of *June*, and sent one Part of his Army in Canoes, along the North Shore of the Lake, while he, with the other Part, passed along the South, that no Accidents of Wind might prevent the one or the other reaching, within the Time appointed, at the Place the *Indians* were to meet him. It happened, by reason of the good Weather, that both arrived on the same Day, and joined the western *Indians* at *Trondequat*, As soon as the Men were put on Shore, they hawled up the Canoes, and began a Fort, where four hundred Men were left to guard the Canoes, and the Baggage. Here a

* In the Straights between Lake *Erie* and *Quatoghie* Lake.

young

CHAP. V. young *Cannadian* was ſhot to Death, as a Deſerter, for conducting the *Engliſh* into the Lakes, though the two Nations were not only at Peace, but their Kings in ſtricter Friendſhip than uſual. But this Piece of Severity is not to be wondered at, when this War was undertaken, chiefly to put a Stop to the *Engliſh* Trade, which now began to extend itſelf far into the Continent, and would in its Conſequence ruin theirs. The next Day the Army began to march towards the chief Village of the *Senekas*, which was only ſeven Leagues diſtant, every Man carrying ten Biſkets for his Proviſion. The *Indian* Traders made the Van with Part of the *Indians*, the other Part marched in the Rear, while the regular Troops and Militia compoſed the main Body. The Army marched four Leagues the firſt Day without diſcovering any Thing; the next Day the Scouts advanced before the Army, as far as the Corn of the Villages, without ſeeing any Body, though they paſſed within Piſtol-ſhot of five-hundred *Senekas*, that lay on their Bellies, and let them paſs and repaſs without diſturbing them.

On the Report which they made, the *French* haſtened their March, in hopes to overtake the Women, Children, and old Men; for they no longer doubted of all being fled. But as ſoon as the *French* reached the Foot of a Hill, about a Quarter of a League from the Village, the *Senekas* ſuddenly raiſed the Warſhout, with a Diſcharge of their Fire-arms. This put the regular Troops, as well as the Militia, into ſuch a Fright, as they marched through the Woods, that the Battalions immediately divided, and run to the Right and Left, and, in the Confuſion, fired upon one another. When the *Senekas* perceived their Diſorder, they fell in among them pell-mell, till the *French Indians*, more uſed to ſuch Way of fighting, gathered together and repulſed the *Senekas*. There were (according to the *French* Accounts) a hundred *Frenchmen*, ten *French Indians*, and

and about fourſcore *Senekas* killed, in this Rencounter. CHAP. V.

Monſieur *de Nonville* was ſo diſpirited with the Fright that his Men had been put into, that his *Indians* could not perſuade him to purſue. He halted the remainder of that Day. The next Day he marched on with Deſign to burn the Village, but when he came there, he found that the *Senekas* had ſaved him the Trouble; for they had laid all in Aſhes before they retired. Two old Men only were found in the Caſtle, who were cut into Pieces and boiled to make Soup for the *French* Allies. The *French* ſtaid five or ſix Days to deſtroy their Corn, and then marched to two other Villages, at two or three Leagues diſtance. After they had performed the like Exploits in thoſe Places, they returned to the Banks of the Lake.

Before the *French* left the Lakes, they built a Fort of four Baſtions at *Oniagara*, on the South-ſide of the Straights, between Lake *Erie* and *Cadarackui* Lake, and left a hundred Men, with eight Months Proviſions in it. But this Gariſon was ſo cloſely blocked up by the *Five Nations*, that they all died of Hunger, except ſeven or eight, who were accidentally relieved by a Party of *French Indians*.

The weſtern *Indians*, when they parted from the *French* General, made their Harangues, as uſual, in which they told him, with what Pleaſure they ſaw a Fort ſo well placed to favour their Deſigns againſt the *Five Nations*, and that they relied on his never finiſhing the War, but with the Deſtruction of the *Five Nations*, or forcing them to abandon their Country. He aſſured them, that he would act with ſuch Vigour, that they would ſoon ſee the *Five Nations* driven into the Sea.

He ſent a Detachment of Soldiers to *Teiodonderaghie*, and in his Return to *Canada*, which was by the North Side of the Lake, he left a ſufficient Number

Number of Men, and a Quantity of Provisions, at *Cadarackui* Fort.

The *French* having got nothing but dry Blows by this Expedition, sent thirteen of the *Indians*, that they surprised at *Cadarackui*, to *France*, as Trophies of their Victory, where they were put into the Galleys, as Rebels to their King.

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Colonel Dongan's *Advice to the* Indians. Adario's *Enterprize, and* Montreal *sacked by the* Five Nations.

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COlonel *Dongan*, who had the *Indian* Affairs very much at Heart, met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* as soon as possible after the *French* Expedition, and spoke to them on the fifth of *August*, in the following Words, *viz.*

" *Brethren*,

" I am very glad to see you here in this House,
" and am heartily glad that you have sustained no
" greater Loss by the *French*, though I believe it
" was their Intention to destroy you all, if they
" could have surprised you in your Castles.

" As soon as I heard their Design to war with
" you, I gave you Notice, and came up hither my-
" self, that I might be ready to give all the Assist-
" ance and Advice that so short a Time would al-
" low me.

" I am now about sending a Gentleman to *Eng-*
" *land*, to the King, my Master, to let him know,
" that the *French* have invaded his Territories on
" this Side of the great Lake, and warred upon the
" Brethren his Subjects. I therefore would wil-
" lingly know, whether the Brethren have given

" the

" the Governor of *Canada* any Provocation or not; CHAP. VI.
" and if they have, how, and in what Manner;
" becauſe I am obliged to give a true Account of
" this Matter. This Buſineſs may cauſe a War be-
" tween the King of *England* and the *French* King,
" both in *Europe* and here, and therefore I muſt
" know the Truth.

" I know the Governor of *Canada* dare not enter
" into the King of *England*'s Territories, in a hoſtile
" Manner, without Provocation, if he thought the
" Brethren were the King of *England*'s Subjects;
" but you have, two or three Years ago, made a
" Covenant-chain with the *French*, contrary to my
" Command, (which I knew could not hold long)
" being void of itſelf among the Chriſtians; for as
" much as Subjects (as you are) ought not to treat
" with any foreign Nation, it not lying in your
" Power, you have brought this Trouble on your
" ſelves, and, as I believe, this is the only Reaſon
" of their falling on you at this Time.

" Brethren, I took it very ill, that after you had
" put yourſelves into the Number of the great King
" of *England*'s Subjects, you ſhould ever offer
" to make Peace or War without my Conſent. You
" know that we can live without you, but you cannot
" live without us. You never found that I told you
" a Lye, and I offered you the Aſſiſtance you wanted,
" provided that you would be adviſed by me; for I
" know the *French* better than any of you do.

" Now ſince there is a War begun upon you by
" the Governor of *Canada*, I hope without any
" Provocation by you given, I deſire and command
" you, that you hearken to no Treaty but by my
" Advice; which if you follow, you ſhall have the
" Benefit of the great Chain of Friendſhip between
" the great King of *England* and the King of *France*,
" which came out of *England* the other Day, and
" which I have ſent to *Canada* by *Anthony le Junard*.
" In the mean Time, I will give you ſuch Advice

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" as will be for your good; and will supply you " with such Necessaries, as you will have Need " of.

" *First*, My Advice is, as to what Prisoners of " the *French* you shall take, that you draw not " their Blood, but bring them Home, and keep " them to exchange for your People, which they " have Prisoners already, or may take hereafter.

" 2*dly*, That if it be possible, that you can order " it so, I would have you take one or two of your " wisest *Sachems*, and one or two of your *chief Captains*, of each Nation, to be a Council to manage " all Affairs of the War. They to give Orders to " the rest of the Officers what they are to do, that " your Designs may be kept private; for after it " comes among so many People, it is blazed abroad, " and your Designs are often frustrated; and those " chief Men should keep a Correspondence with me " by a trusty Messenger.

" 3*dly*, The great Matter under Consideration with the Brethren is, how to strengthen " themselves, and weaken their Enemy. My Opinion is, that the Brethren should send Messengers " to the *Utawawas*, *Twihtwies*, and the *farther Indians*, and to send back likewise some of the Prisoners of these Nations, if you have any left, to " bury the Hatchet, and to make a Covenant-chain, " that they may put away all the *French* that are " among them, and that you will open a Path for " them this Way, they being the King of *England*'s " Subjects likewise, tho' the *French* have been admitted to trade with them; for all that the *French* " have in *Canada*, they had it of the great King of " *England*; that by that Means they may come " hither freely, where they may have every Thing " cheaper than among the *French*: That you and " they may join together against the *French*, and " make so firm a League, that whoever is an Enemy to one, must be to both.

2 4*thly*, Ano-

" 4*thly*, Another Thing of Concern is, that you ought to do what you can to open a Path for all the *North Indians* and *Mahikanders*, that are among the *Utawawas* and further Nations: I will endeavour to do the ſame to bring them Home; for, they not daring to return Home your Way, the *French* keep them there on purpoſe to join with the other Nations againſt you, for your Deſtruction; for you know, that one of them is worſe than ſix of the others; therefore all Means muſt be uſed to bring them Home, and uſe them kindly as they paſs through your Country. CHAP. VI.

" 5*thly*, My Advice further is, that Meſſengers go, in behalf of all the *Five Nations*, to the *Chriſtian Indians* at *Canada*, to perſuade them to come Home to their native Country. This will be another great Means to weaken your Enemy; but if they will not be adviſed, you know what to do with them.

" 6*thly*, I think it very neceſſary, for the Brethren's Security and Aſſiſtance, and to the endamaging the *French*, to build a Fort upon the Lake, where I may keep Stores and Proviſions, in Caſe of Neceſſity; and therefore I would have the Brethren let me know what Place will be moſt convenient for it.

" 7*thly*, I would not have the Brethren keep their Corn in their Caſtles, as I hear the *Onondagas* do, but bury it a great Way in the Woods, where few People may know where it is, for fear of ſuch an Accident as has happened to the *Senekas*.

" 8*thly*, I have given my Advice in your General Aſſembly by Mr. *Dirk Weſſels*, and *Akus* the Interpreter, how you are to manage your Parties, and how neceſſary it is to get Priſoners, to exchange for your own Men that are Priſoners with the *French*; and I am glad to hear that the Brethren are ſo united, as Mr. *Dirk Weſſels* tells me

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" you are, and that there are no rotten Members " nor *French* Spies among you.

" 9*thly*, The Brethren may remember my Advice, which I ſent you this Spring, not to go to " *Cadarackui*; if you had, they would have ſerved " you as they did your People that came from hunting thither; for I told you then, that I knew the " *French* better than you did.

" 10*thly*, There was no Advice or Propoſition " that I made to the Brethren, all the Time that the " Prieſt lived at *Onondaga*, but what he wrote to " to *Canada*, as I found by one of his Letters, which " he gave to an *Indian* to carry to *Canada*, but which " was brought hither; therefore I deſire the Brethren " not to receive him or any *French Prieſt* any more, " having ſent for *Engliſh Prieſts*, with whom you " may be ſupplied to your Content.

" 11*thly*, I would have the Brethren look out " ſharp, for Fear of being ſurprized. I believe all " the Strength of the *French* will be at their Frontier Places, *viz.* at *Cadarackui* and *Oniagara*, " where they have built a Fort now, and at *Troies Rivieres*, *Montreal*, and *Chambly*.

" 12*thly*, Let me put you in Mind again, not to " make any Treaties without my Means, which will " be more advantageous for you, than your doing " it by yourſelves, for then you will be looked upon " as the King of *England*'s Subjects, and let me know, " from Time to Time, every Thing that is done.

" Thus far I have ſpoken to you relating to the " War.

Then he chid them for their Breach of Faith with *Virginia*. He told them, that he was informed, that laſt Spring they had killed a fine Gentleman, with ſome others; and that a Party of the *Oneydoes* was now there at the Head of *Tames River*, with Intention to deſtroy all the *Indians* thereabout. They had taken ſix Priſoners, whom he ordered them to bring to him, to be reſtored; and that for the future

ture they ſhould deſiſt from doing any Injury to the People of *Virginia*, or their *Indians*, otherwiſe all the *Engliſh* would unite to deſtroy them. But at the ſame time he freed the *Senekas* from any Blame, and commended them as a brave and honeſt People, who never had done any Thing contrary to his Orders, except in making that unlucky Peace with the *French*, three Years ago. CHAP. VI.

Laſtly, He recommended to them, not to ſuffer their People to be drunk during the War: A Soldier thereby (he ſaid) loſes his Reputation, becauſe of the Advantages it will give the Enemy over him.

This honeſt Gentleman earneſtly purſued the Intereſt of his Country; but it ſeems his Meaſures were not agreeable to thoſe his Maſter had taken with the *French* King; for he had Orders to procure a Peace for the *French* on their own Terms, and was ſoon after this removed from his Government. Indeed ſuch an active, as well as prudent Governor of *New-York*, could not be acceptable to the *French*, who had the univerſal Monarchy in View, in *America* as well as in *Europe*.

The great Diſpute between Coll. *Dungan* and the *French* was in this, that Coll. *Dungan* would force the *French* to apply to him, in all Affairs relating to the *Five Nations*, and the *French* would treat with them independently of the *Engliſh*. For this Reaſon Coll. *Dungan* refuſed any Aſſiſtance to the *French*, till they, by ſuch Application, ſhould acknowledge the Dependance of the *Five Nations* on the Crown of *England*. But King *James* ordered him to give up this Point; and that he ſhould perſuade the *Five Nations* to ſend to *Canada*, to receive Propoſals from the *French Governor*; and for this Purpoſe, forced them to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms, till their Deputies ſhould go and return from *Canada*; and that they ſhould, in the mean Time, deliver up all the Priſoners they had taken from the *French*; and that

CHAP. VI. no Accident might prevent this, and blaſt ſo favourable an Opportunity of making Peace to the beſt Advantage, Monſr. *De Nonville* ſent his Orders to all his Officers in the *Indian* Countries, to obſerve a Ceſſation of Arms, till the Ambaſſador of the *Five Nations* ſhould meet him at *Montreal*, as they had given him Reaſon to expect they would in a little Time, to conclude the Peace in the uſual Form.

In the mean Time, *Adario*, the Chief of the *Deonondadies*, finding that his Nation was become ſuſpected by the *French*, ſince the Time they had ſhewn ſo much Inclination to the *Engliſh*, when they attempted to trade at *Miſſilimakinak*, reſolved, by ſome notable Action againſt the *Five Nations*, to recover the good Graces of the *French*.

For this Purpoſe, he marched from *Miſſilimakinak*, at the Head of a Hundred Men; and that he might act with the more Security, he took *Cadarackui* Fort in his Way for Intelligence: The Commandant informed him, that Monſr. *De Nonville* was in Hopes of concluding a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and expected their Ambaſſadors in eight or ten Days at *Montreal* for that Purpoſe, and therefore deſired him to return to *Miſſilimakinak*, without attempting any Thing that might obſtruct ſo good a Deſign.

The *Indian* being ſurpriſed with this News, was under great Concern for his Nation, which he was afraid would be ſacrificed to the *French* Intereſt, but diſſembled his Concern before the *French* Officer. He went from *Cadarackui*, not to return home as the Commandant thought, but to wait for the Ambaſſadors of the *Five Nations*, near one of the Falls of *Cadarackui* River, by which he knew they muſt paſs. He did not lurk there above four or five Days, before the Deputies came guarded by forty young Soldiers, who were all ſurpriſed, and killed or taken Priſoners. As ſoon as the Priſoners were all ſecured, the cunning *Deonondadi* told them, "That he "having been informed, by the Governor of *Canada*, "that

" that fifty Warriors of their Nation were to pass " this Way about this Time, he had secured this " Pass, not doubting of intercepting them. CHAP. VI.

The Ambassadors being much surprised at the *French* Perfidy, told *Adario* the Design of their Journey, who, the better to play his Part, seemed to grow mad and furious, declaring against Monsr. *De Nonville*, and said he would, some time or other, be revenged of him, for making a Tool of him, to commit such horrid Treachery. Then looking stedfastly on the Prisoners (among whom *Dekanefora* was the principal Ambassador) *Adario* said to them, Go, my Brethren, I unty your Bonds, and send you home again, tho' our Nations be at War: The *French* Governor has made me commit so black an Action, that I shall never be easy after it, till the *Five Nations* shall have taken full Revenge.

This was sufficient to persuade the Ambassadors of the Truth of what he said, who assured him, that he and his Nation might make their Peace when they pleased. *Adario* lost only one Man on this Occasion, and would keep a *Satana* Prisoner (adopted into the *Five Nations*) to fill up his Place. Then he gave Arms, Powder and Ball to the rest of the Prisoners, to enable them to return.

The Ambassadors were chiefly, if not all, *Onondagas*, and *Oneydoes*, who had been long under the Influence of the *French* Priests, and still retained an Affection to them; but this Adventure thoroughly changed their Thoughts, and irritated them so heartily against the *French*, that all the *Five Nations* prosecuted the War unanimously.

Adario delivered the Slave (his Prisoner) to the *French* at *Missilimakinak*, who to keep up the Enmity between the *Deonondadies* and the *Five Nations*, ordered him to be shot to Death. *Adario* called one of the *Five Nations*, who had been long a Prisoner, to be an Eye Witness of his Countryman's Death, then bid him make his Escape to his own Country,

CHAP. VI.

to give an Account of the *French* Cruelty, from which it was not in his Power to save a Prisoner, he himself had taken.

This heightned the Rage of the *Five Nations* so, that Monsr. *De Nonville*'s sending to disown *Adario* in this Action, had no Effect upon them; their Breasts admitted of no Thoughts but that of Revenge. It was not long before the *French* felt the bloody Effects of this cruel Passion, for 1200 Men of the *Five Nations* invaded the Island of *Montreal*, when the *French* had no Suspicion of any such Attempt, while Monsr. *De Nonville* and his Lady were in that Town. They landed on the South Side of the Island, at *La Chine*, on the 26th of *July* 1688, where they burnt and sacked all the Plantations, and made a terrible Massacre of Men, Women, and Children. The *French* were under Apprehension of the Town's being attack'd, for which Reason, they durst not send out any considerable Party to the Relief of the Country, only once, when the *Indians* had blocked up two Forts, Monsr. *De Nonville* sent out a hundred Soldiers, and fifty *Indians*, to try to bring off the Men in those Forts. The *French* of this Party were all either taken or cut to Pieces, except one Soldier, and the commanding Officer, who, after he had his Thighs broke, was carried off by twelve *Indians* that made their Escape. There were above a Thousand of the *French* killed at this Time, and twenty-six were carried away Prisoners, the greatest Part of which were burnt alive. The *Five Nations* only lost three Men on this Expedition, that got drunk and were left behind. This, however, did not satiate their Thirst after Blood, for, in *October* following, they destroyed likewise all the lower Part of the Island, and carried away many Prisoners.

The Consequence of these Expeditions were very dismal to the *French*, for they were forced to burn their two Barks, which they had on *Cadarackui* Lake, and to abandon their Fort there; they designed to

have blown up their Works, when they left that Place; and for that End left a lighted Match where the Powder lay, but were in ſuch a Fright, that they durſt not ſtay to ſee what Effect it had. They went down *Cadarackui* River in ſeven Birch Canoes; and for greater Security, travelled in the Night. One of the Canoes, with all the Men in it, were loſt, by their Precipitation, as they paſſed one of the Falls in that River. The *Five Nations* hearing the *French* had deſerted *Cadarackui* Fort, fifty *Indians* went and took Poſſeſſion of it, who found the Match the *French* had left, which had gone out, and twenty eight Barrels of Powder in the ſame Place, together with ſeveral other Stores. CHAP. VI.

The News of the Succeſs the *Five Nations* had over the *French* ſoon ſpread itſelf among all the *Indians*, and put the *French* Affairs every where into the greateſt Diſorder.

The *Utawawas* had always ſhewn an Inclination to the *Engliſh*, and they therefore immediately ſent openly four *Sachems*, with three Priſoners of the *Senekas*, which they had, to aſſure them, that they would for ever renounce all Friendſhip with the *French*, and promiſed to reſtore the reſt of the Priſoners. They alſo included ſeven Nations, that lived near *Miſſilimakinak*, in this Peace.

This put the *French* Commandant there under the greateſt Difficulty to maintain his Poſt; but there was no Choice, he muſt ſtand his Ground, for the *Five Nations* had cut off all Hopes of retiring.

The *Nepairinians* and *Kikabous*, of all their numerous Allies, only remained firm to the *French*; every one of the others endeavoured to gain the Friendſhip of the *Five Nations*; and would certainly have done it, by murdering all the *French* among them, had not the Sieur *Perot*, with wonderful Sagacity and eminent Hazard to his own Perſon, diverted them.

Canada

CHAP. VI.

Canada was now in a moſt miſerable Condition, for while the greateſt Number of their Men had been employed in the Expedition againſt the *Five Nations*, and in trading among the far Nations, and making new Diſcoveries and Settlements, Tillage and Huſbandry had been neglected; and they loſt ſeveral Thouſands of their Inhabitants, by the continual Incurſions of ſmall Parties, ſo that none durſt hazard themſelves out of fortified Places; indeed, it is hard to conceive what Diſtreſs the *French* were then under, for tho' they were every where almoſt ſtarving, they could not plant nor ſow, or go from one Village to another for Relief, but with imminent Danger of having their Scalps carried away by the ſculking *Indians*; at laſt the whole Country being laid waſte, Famine began to rage, and was like to have put a miſerable End to that Colony.

If the *Indians* had underſtood the Method of attacking Forts, nothing could have preſerved the *French* from an entire Deſtruction at this Time; for whoever conſiders the State of the *Indian* Affairs during this Period, how the *Five Nations* were divided in their Sentiments and Meaſures; that the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*, under the Influence of the *French* Jeſuites, were diverted from proſecuting the War againſt *Canada*, by the Jeſuites cunningly ſpiriting up thoſe three Nations againſt the *Virginia Indians*, and perſuading them to ſend out their Parties that Way: That the *Senekas* had a War at the ſame Time upon their Hands with three numerous *Indian* Nations, the *Utawawas*, *Chicktaghicks*, and *Twihtwies*; and that the Meaſures the *Engliſh* obſerved all King *James*'s Reign, gave the *Indians* rather Grounds of Jealouſy than Aſſiſtance: I ſay, whoever conſiders all theſe Things, and what the *Five Nations* did actually perform, under all theſe Diſadvantages againſt the *French*, will hardly doubt, that the *Five Nations* by themſelves were at that Time an Overmatch for the *French* of *Canada*.

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THE HISTORY OF THE FIVE Indian NATIONS DEPENDENT On the Province of NEW-YORK.

PART II.

THE PREFACE

To the SECOND PART.

THE former Part of this Hiſtory was written at New-York *in the Year* 1727, *on Occaſion of a Diſpute which then happened, between the Government of* New-York *and ſome* Merchants. *The* French *of* Canada *had the whole Fur Trade with the* Weſtern Indians *in their Hands, and were ſupplied with their woollen Goods from* New-York. *Mr.* Burnet, *who took more Pains to be informed of the Intereſt of the People he was ſet over, and of making them uſeful to their Mother Country, than Plantation Governors uſually do, took the Trouble of peruſing all the Regiſters of the* Indian *Affairs on this Occaſion. He from thence conceived of what Conſequence the Fur Trade with the* Weſtern Indians *was of to* Great-Britain; *that as the* Engliſh *had the Fur Trade to* Hudſon's Bay *given up to them, by the Treaty of* Utrecht, *ſo, by the Advantages which the Province of* New-York *has in its Situation, they might be able to draw the whole Fur Trade in the other Parts of* America *to themſelves, and thereby the* Engliſh *engroſs that Trade, and the Manufactories depending on it.*

For this Purpoſe he thought it neceſſary to put a Stop to the Trade between New-York *and* Canada, *by which the* French *ſupplied themſelves with the moſt valuable and neceſſary Commodities for the* Indian *Market, and to ſet the Inhabitants of this Province on trading directly with the* Indians. *Beſides the Conſideration of Profit and Gain, he conſidered what Influence this Trade had on the numerous Nations of* Indians *living on the vaſt Continent of* North-America, *and who ſurround the* Britiſh *Colonies; of what Advantage it might be of, if they were influenced by the* Engliſh *in Caſe of a War with* France; *and how prejudicial, on the other Hand, if they were directed by* French *Counſels.*

The Legiſlature of New-York *was ſoon convinced of the Juſtneſs of his Reaſoning, and paſſed an Act, prohibiting the*

Trade to Canada, and for encouraging the Trade directly with the Indians. They were likewise at the Charge of building a fortified trading House at Oswego, on Cadarackui Lake, and have ever since maintained a Garison there. As this Act did in its Consequence take a large Profit from one or two considerable Merchants, who had the Trade to Canada intirely in their Hands, they endeavoured to raise a Clamour against it in the Province, and presented likewise Petitions to the King, in Order to get the Act repealed. Upon this Occasion Mr. Burnet gave me the Perusal of the Publick Register of Indian Affairs, and it was thought the Publication of the History of the Five Nations might be of Use at that Time.

I shall only add, that Mr. Burnet's Scheme has had its desired Effect: The English have gained the Trade which the French, before that, had with the Indians to the Westward of New-York; and whereas, before that Time, a very inconsiderable Number of Men were employed in the Indian Trade Abroad, now above three hundred Men are employed at the Trading House at Oswego alone; and the Indian Trade has since that Time yearly increased so far, that several Indian Nations come now every Summer to trade there, whose Names were not so much as known by the English before.

This History, from New-York, soon went to England, and I have been informed, that a Publication, with a Continuance of that Work, would be acceptable there. I have the more chearfully complied with this Notice, because of the War threatened from France, believing that a Publication of this Kind may be useful, whether the present Inquietudes between the two Nations end in a War or in a Treaty. The French have encouraged several Publications of this Sort at Paris, and certainly such may be more useful in a British Government, where the People have so great a Share in it, than it can be in a French Government, intirely directed by the Will of their Prince.

I now continue this History to the Peace of Reswick, and if I find this acceptable, and that a farther Continuation of it be desired, I shall, if my Life and Health be preserved, carry it down farther; but as I have too much Reason to doubt my own Ability, to give that Pleasure and Satisfaction which the Publick may expect in Things thus submitted to their View, I think it not justifiable to trouble them with too much at once.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIVE *INDIAN* NATIONS, DEPENDING On the PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK.*

PART II.

The History of the Five Indian Nations *of* Canada, *from the Time of the Revolution to the Peace of* Reſwick.

CHAP. I.

The State of Affairs in New-York *and* Canada, *at the Time of the* Revolution *in* Great-Britain.

CHAP. I.

WE left the *Five Nations* triumphing over the *French* in *Canada*, and they almoſt reduced to Deſpair. The Revolution, which happened at this Time in *England*, ſeemed to be a favourable Conjunction for the *Five Nations*; the *Engliſh* Colonies, by the War at that Time declared againſt

CHAP. I. againſt *France*, becoming Parties in their Quarrel: For one will be ready to think, that the *Five Nations* being by themſelves too powerful for the *French*, as appears by the preceding Chapter, when theſe were aſſiſted by the *Utawawas*, *Quatoghies*, *Twihtwies*, *Chictaghicks*, *Putewatemies*, and all the *Weſtern Indian Nations*, and when the *Engliſh* ſtood neuter; now certainly, when not only all theſe *Indian Nations* had made Peace with the *Five Nations*, but the *Engliſh* joined with them in the War, the *French* would not be able to ſtand one Campaign.

But we ſhall find what a Turn Affairs took, contrary to all reaſonable Expectations, from the general Appearance of Things, and of what Importance a reſolute wiſe Governor is to the well-being of a People, and how prejudicial Diviſions and Parties are. For this Reaſon, it will be neceſſary to take a View of the Publick Affairs in the Province of *New-York*, and in *Canada*, at that Time, in order to underſtand the true Cauſes of the Alterations, which afterwards happened in Favour of the *French*.

The Revolution occaſioned as great Diviſions and Parties in the Province of *New-York*, in Proportion to the Number of People, as it did in *Britain*, if not greater. The Governor and all the Officers either fled or abſconded; the Gentlemen of the King's Council, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable or richeſt People, either out of Love, or what they thought Duty, to King *James*, or rather from an Opinion they had that the *Prince of Orange* could not ſucceed, refuſed to join in the Declaration the People made in favour of that Prince, and ſuffered the Adminiſtration to fall into different Hands, who were more zealous for the Proteſtant Intereſt, and who were joined by the far greateſt Number of the Inhabitants. After the Revolution was eſtabliſhed, they that had appeared ſo warmly for it, thought that they

they deserved best of the Government, and expected to be continued in the Publick Offices; the others were zealous to recover the Authority they had lost, and used the most persuasive Means with the Governors for that Purpose, while the former trusted to their Merit. This begat great Animosities, which continued many Years. Each Party, as they were at different Times favoured by several Governors, opposed all the Measures taken by the other, while each of them were by Turns in Credit with the People or the Governor, and sometimes even prosecuted each other to Death. The publick Measures were by these Means perpetually fluctuating, and often one Day contradictory to what they were the Day before. The succeeding Governors, finding their private Account in favouring sometimes the one Party, and at other Times the other, kept up the Animosities all King *William*'s Reign, though very much to the publick Prejudice; for each Party was this while so eager in resenting private Injuries, that they intirely neglected the publick Good.

The Constitution of Government in the *English Plantations*, where the Governors have no Salary, but what they can attain with the Consent of the Assemblies or Representatives of the People, gave Occasion to imprudent Governors to fall upon these Expedients, as they sometimes call them, for getting of Money. And a prevailing Faction, knowing for what Purpose the Governments in *America* were chiefly desired by the *English* Gentlemen, used this great Privilege to tempt a Governor to be the Head of a Party, when he ought to have been the Head of the Government. Indeed *New-York* has had the Misfortune, too frequently, to be under such as could not keep their Passion for Money secret, though none found it so profitable a Government, as they did who followed strictly the true Maxims of governing, without making Money the only Rule of their Actions.

The

CHAP. I.

The frequent Changes of Governors were likewiſe prejudicial to the publick Affairs. Colonel *Slaughter*, the firſt Governor after the Revolution, happened to die ſoon after his Arrival, when ſteady, as well as reſolute Meaſures, were moſt neceſſary. But ſome think, that the Occaſion of all the Misfortunes lay in the Want of Care in the Choice of Governors, when the Affairs of *America* wanted able Hands to manage them; they think that the Miniſtry had the ſaving of Money chiefly in View, when, to gratify ſome ſmall Services, they gave Employments in *America* to thoſe that were not capable of much meaner Offices at Home. The Opinion the People had of Colonel *Slaughter*'s Capacity gave ground to theſe Surmiſes; but, if it was ſo, it happened to be very ill ſaved Money; for the Miſmanagements in this Country occaſioned far greater Expence to the Crown afterwards, than would have bought ſuch Gentlemen handſome Eſtates, beſides the great Loſſes they occaſioned to the Subjects.

The greateſt Number of the Inhabitants of the Province of *New-York* being *Dutch*, ſtill retained an Affection to their Mother Country, and by their Averſion to the *Engliſh* weakened the Adminiſtration. The common People of *Albany*, who are all *Dutch*, could not forbear giving the *Indians* ſome ill Impreſſions of the *Engliſh*; for the *Mohawks*, in one of their publick Speeches, expreſſed themſelves thus: "We hear a *Dutch Prince* reigns now in *Eng-*
"*land*, why do you ſuffer the *Engliſh* Soldiers to
"remain in the Fort? put all the *Engliſh* out of
"the Town. When the *Dutch* held this Country
"long ago, we lay in their Houſes; but the *Eng-*
"*liſh* have always made us lie without Doors." It is true, that the Plantations were firſt ſettled by the meaneſt People of every Nation, and ſuch as had the leaſt Senſe of any Honour. The *Dutch* firſt Settlers, many of them I may ſay, had none of the Virtues

Virtues of their Countrymen, except their Induſtry in getting Money, and they ſacrificed every Thing, other People think honourable or moſt ſacred, to their Gain: But I do not think it proper to give particular Inſtances of this. CHAP. I.

The People of *New-England* were engaged in a bloody War at this Time with the *Owenagungas*, *Ouragies*, and *Ponacoks*, the *Indians* that lie between them and the *French* Settlements. The *Scahkooks* were originally Part of theſe *Indians*. They left their Country about the Year 1672, and ſettled above *Albany*, on the Branch of *Hudſon's River* that runs towards *Canada*. The People of *New-England* were jealous of the *Scahkook Indians*, that they remembering the old Difference they had with the People of *New England*, and the Relation they bore to the *Eaſtern Indians*, did countenance and aſſiſt theſe *Indians* in the War againſt *New England*. They had Reaſon for theſe Jealouſies, for the *Scahkook Indians* received privately ſome *Owenagunga* Meſſengers, and kept their coming among them ſecret from the People of *Albany*; and ſome *Scahkooks* had gone privately to the *Owenagungas*. They were afraid likewiſe, that the *Mohawks* might have ſome Inclination to favour thoſe *Indians*, becauſe ſome of the *Eaſtern Indians* had fled to the *Mohawks*, and were kindly received by them, and lived among them.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Failures of good Policy, in the Government of *New-York*, the *French* had not gained ſo great Advantages, if they had not carefully obſerved a different Conduct, which it is now neceſſary to conſider.

Canada was at this Time in a very diſtreſſed Condition, the Country and out Plantations burnt and deſtroyed, their Trade intirely at a ſtand, great Numbers of their People ſlain, and the remainder in danger of periſhing by Famine, as well as by the Sword of inveterate cruel Enemies. When ſuch

Misfor-

CHAP. I. Misfortunes happen to a Country, under any Administration, though in Truth the Conduct of Affairs be not to be blamed, it is often prudent to change the Ministers; for the common People never fail to blame them, notwithstanding their having acted with the greatest Wisdom, and therefore cannot so soon recover their Spirits, that are sunk by Misfortunes, as by putting their Affairs into different Hands.

For these Reasons, it is probable, the *French* King recalled Mr. *de Norville*, but rewarded him for his Services, by an honourable Employment in the Houshold. The Count *de Frontenac* was sent in his Place. This Gentleman had been formerly Governor of that Country, and was perfectly acquainted with its Interest; of a Temper of Mind fitted to such desperate Times, of undaunted Courage, and indefatigable, though in the sixty-eighth Year of his Age. The Count *de Frontenac* arrived the second of *October* 1689. The Country immediately received new Life by the Arrival of a Person, of whose Courage and Conduct every one had entertained a high Opinion. Care was taken to increase this Impression on the Minds of the People, by making publick Rejoicings with as much Noise as possible. He wisely improved this new Life, by immediately entering upon Action, without suffering their Hopes to grow cold. He staid no longer at *Quebeck*, than was necessary to be informed of the present State of Affairs, and in four or five Days after his Arrival set out in a Canoe for *Montreal*, where his Presence was most necessary; and the Winter was already so far advanced, that the Ice made it impracticable to go in a larger Vessel. By this the old Gentleman increased the Opinion and Hopes the People entertained of him, that, without staying to refresh himself after a fatiguing Sea-Voyage, he would immediately undertake another, that required all the Vigour and Heat of Youth to withstand the Inclemencies

mencies of the Climate and Seaſon, and the Difficulty of ſuch a Paſſage. CHAP. I.

When the Count *de Frontenac* came to *Montreal*, he increaſed the Admiration the People had of his Vigour and Zeal, by pretending to go to viſit *Cadarackui Fort*, now abandoned, which he had built in the Time he was formerly Governor. The Clergy and People of *Montreal* came jointly with ſtretched out Arms, repreſenting the Danger of ſuch an Attempt, and the Difficulties and Hardſhips that would neceſſarily attend it, praying him not to expoſe a Life that was ſo neceſſary for their Safety. He, with ſeeming Reluctance, yielded to their Intreaties; I ſay with ſeeming Reluctance, for it was inconſiſtent with his Prudence really to have ſuch a Deſign. This Shew of the Governor's offering to go in Perſon, animated ſome of the Gentlemen of the Country, who voluntarily went in the Winter, with one Hundred *Indian* Traders, to viſit that Fort; and finding it in better Condition than they expected, by the Report of thoſe who had abandoned it, they ſtaid there, and made ſome ſmall Reparations in the Walls, which the *Indians* had thrown down.

The Count *de Frontenac* brought back with him *Tawerahet*, a *Capiga Sachem*, one of the thirteen Priſoners that Mr. *de Nonville* took at *Cadarackui*, and ſent to *France*. He was in Hopes this *Indian* would be uſeful in procuring a Treaty of Peace with the *Five Nations*, for they had an extraordinary Opinion of *Tawerahet*; and the *French* had found, by ſad Experience, that they could not be Gainers by continuing the War: For this Purpoſe the Count uſed *Tawerahet* with much Kindneſs, during his Voyage, and, after he arrived at *Quebeck*, lodged him in the Caſtle under his own Roof, and took ſuch Pains with this *Sachem*, that he forgot all the ill Uſage he had formerly received.

CHAP. I. The *French* had the more Reaſon to deſire a Peace with the *Five Nations*, becauſe they knew, that they would now certainly have the *Engliſh* Colonies likewiſe upon them; and if the *Five Nations* had been able to do ſo much Miſchief by themſelves alone, they were much more to be feared, when they would be aſſiſted, in all Probability, with the Force and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Colonies.

Four *Indians* of leſs Note, who were brought back along with *Tawerahet*, were immediately diſpatched, in this *Sachem*'s Name, to the *Five Nations*, to inform them of his Return, and of the kind Uſage they had received from the Count *de Frontenac*; and to preſs them to ſend ſome to viſit their old Friend, who had been ſo kind to them when he was formerly Governor of *Canada*, and who ſtill retained an Affection to the *Five Nations*; as appeared by the Kindneſs *Tawerahet* and they had received from him. This was the only Method left to the *French* of making Propoſals of Peace, which it was their Intereſt by all Means to procure.

The Governor of *Canada*, as I ſaid, conceived that there was no Way ſo proper to keep up the Spirits of the People, who had got new Life by his Arrival, as by putting them upon Action; and indeed their preſent miſerable Condition made them forward enough, to undertake the moſt deſperate Enterprize, when the frequent Incurſions of the *Indians* made it as dangerous to be at Home, as to attack the Enemy Abroad.

For this Purpoſe he ſent out three Parties in the Winter; one was deſigned againſt *New-York*, the other againſt *Connecticut*, and the laſt againſt *New-England*.

The *Five Nations* followed Colonel *Dungan*'s Advice, in endeavouring to bring off the *Weſtern Indians* from the *French*, and had all the Succeſs that could be expected, before Mr. *de Frontenac* arrived.

They

They were overjoyed when they heard, that the *Engliſh* had entered into War with the *French*, and came ſeveral Times to *Albany* to know the Certainty of it, while it was only rumoured about. The People of *Albany* deſired them to ſecure any of the praying *Indians* that ſhould come from *Canada*, if they found that they were ſtill ruled by the Prieſts; but to encourage them, if they came with a Deſign to return to their own Country.

The *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, and *Oneydoes*, the twenty ſeventh of *June* 1689, before any Governor arrived, renewed the old Covenant (as they ſaid) which was firſt made many Years ago with one *Tagues*, who came with a Ship into their River. "Then we firſt became Brethren, ſaid they, and continued ſo till laſt fall, that Sir *Edmond Andros* came "and made a new Chain, by calling us Children; but "let us ſtick to the old Chain, which has continued from the firſt Time it was made, by which "we became Brethren, and have ever ſince always "behaved as ſuch. *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *New-England*, have been taken into this ſilver Chain, "with which our Friendſhip is locked faſt. We "are now come to make the Chain clear and bright. "Here they gave two Bevers."

King *James*, a little before his Abdication, ſent over Sir *Edmond Andros* with arbitrary Powers, and he, in Imitation of the *French*, changed the Stile of ſpeaking to the *Indians*, of which they were very ſenſible.

They diſcovered a great Concern for their People that were carried to *Canada*; they long hoped (they ſaid) that the King of *England* would have been powerful enough to deliver them, but now they began to loſe all Hopes of them.

CHAP. II.

A Treaty between the Agents of Maſſachuſet's Bay, New-Plymouth, *and* Connecticut, *and the* Sachems *of the* Five Nations, *at* Albany, *in the Year* 1689.

CHAP. II.

ABOUT the Beginning of *September* 1689, Colonel *John Pynchon*, Major *John Savage*, and Captain *Jonathan Bull*, Agents for the Colonies of *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, *New-Plymouth*, and *Connecticut*, arrived at *Albany*, to renew the Friendſhip with the *Five Nations*, and to engage them againſt the *Eaſtern Indians*, who made War on the *Engliſh* of thoſe Colonies, and were ſupported by the *French*.

The *Five Nations* had received four Meſſengers from the *Eaſtern Indians*, which gave the People of *New-England* ſome Apprehenſions, and they were therefore deſirous to know what Reception theſe Meſſengers had met with.

The *Five Nations* anſwered by *Tahajadoris*, a *Mohawk Sachem*, on the twenty fourth of *September*. He made a long Oration, repeating all that the Agent from *New-England* had ſaid, the Day before, and deſired them to be attentive to the Anſwer now to be made to them. They commonly repeat over all that has been ſaid to them, before they return any Anſwer, and one may be ſurprized at the Exactneſs of theſe Repetitions. They take the following Method to aſſiſt their Memories: The *Sachem*, who preſides at theſe Conferences, has a Bundle of ſmall Sticks in his Hand; as ſoon as the Speaker has finiſhed any one Article of his Speech, this *Sachem* gives a Stick to another *Sachem*, who is particularly

ticularly to remember that Article; and so when another Article is finished, he gives a Stick to another to take Care of that other, and so on. In like Manner when the Speaker answers, each of these has the particular Care of the Answer resolved on to each Article, and prompts the Orator, when his Memory fails him, in the Article committed to his Charge. *Tahajadoris* addressing himself to the Agents, said: CHAP. II.

" *Brethren*,

" You are welcome to this House, which is appointed for our Treaties and publick Business with the Christians; we thank you for renewing the Covenant-chain. It is now no longer of Iron and subject to Rust, as formerly, but of pure Silver, and includes in it all the King's Subjects, from the *Senekas* Country eastward, as far as any of the great King's Subjects live, and southward, from *New-England* to *Virginia*. Here he gave a Bever.

" We are glad to hear of the good Success our great King has had over the *French* by Sea, in taking and sinking so many of their Men of War. You tell us in your Proposals that we are one People, let us then go Hand in Hand together, to ruin and destroy the *French* our common Enemy. Gives a Bever.

" The Covenant-chain between us is ancient (as you tell us) and of long standing, and it has been kept inviolably by us. When you had Wars some time ago with the *Indians*, you desired us to help you; we did it readily, and to the Purpose; for we pursued them closely, by which we prevented the Effusion of much of your Blood. This was a certain Sign that we loved truly and sincerely, and from our Hearts. Gives a Belt.

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"You adviſe us to purſue our Enemies, the "*French*, vigorouſly; this we aſſure you we are "reſolved to do to the utmoſt of our Power: But "ſince the *French* are your Enemies likewiſe, we "deſire our Brethren of the three Colonies to ſend "us an hundred Men for the Security of this Place, "which is ill provided, in Caſe of an Attack from "the *French*; the Chriſtians have Victuals enough "for their Entertainment. Gives one Belt.

"We patiently bore many Injuries from the "*French*, from one Year to another, before we "took up the Axe againſt them. Our Patience "made the Governor of *Canada* think, that we "were afraid of him, and durſt not reſent the In-"juries we had ſo long ſuffered; but now he is "undeceived. We aſſure you, that we are reſolved "never to drop the Axe, the *French* never ſhall "ſee our Faces in Peace, we ſhall never be recon-"ciled as long as one *Frenchman* is alive. We ſhall "never make Peace, though our Nation ſhould be "ruined by it, and every one of us cut in Pieces. "Our Brethren of the three Colonies may depend "on this. Gives a Bever.

"As to what you told us of the *Owenagungas* "and *Uragees*, we anſwer: That we were never ſo "proud and haughty, as to begin a War without "juſt Provocation. You tell us that they are "treacherous Rogues, we believe it, and that they "will undoubtedly aſſiſt the *French*. If they ſhall "do this, or ſhall join with any of our Enemies, "either *French* or *Indians*, then we will kill and "deſtroy them. Gives a Bever."

Then the *Mohawks* offered five of their Men, to guard the Agents Home againſt any of their *Indian* Enemies, who they were afraid might be laying in wait for the Agents, and gave a Belt.

Afterwards the Speaker continued his Speech, and ſaid: "We have ſpoke what we had to ſay of "the War, we now come to the Affairs of Peace:

"We

" We promiſe to preſerve the Chain inviolably, and CHAP.
" wiſh that the Sun may always ſhine in Peace over II.
" all our Heads that are comprehended in this Chain.
" We give two Belts, one for the Sun, the other
" for its Beams.

" We make faſt the Roots of the Tree of Peace
" and Tranquillity, which is planted in this Place.
" Its Roots extend as far as the utmoſt of your
" Colonies; if the *French* ſhould come to ſhake this
" Tree, we would feel it by the Motion of its
" Roots, which extend into our Country: But we
" truſt it will not be in the Governor of *Canada*'s
" Power to ſhake this Tree, which has been ſo
" firmly and ſo long planted with us. Gives two
" Bevers."

Laſtly, He deſired the Magiſtrates of *Albany* to remember what he had ſaid, and gave them a Bever.

But the Agents perceiving, that they had not anſwered any Thing about the *Owenagunga* Meſſengers, and had anſwered indiſtinctly about the War with the *Eaſtern Indians*, deſired them to explain themſelves fully on theſe two Points, about which the Agents were chiefly concerned.

The *Five Nations* anſwered:

" We cannot declare War againſt the *Eaſtern In-*
" *dians*, for they have done us no Harm: Never-
" theleſs our Brethren of *New-England* may be aſ-
" ſured, that we will live and die in Friendſhip with
" them. When we took up the Axe againſt the
" *French* and their Confederates, we did it to re-
" venge the Injuries they had done us; we did not
" make War with them at the Perſuaſions of our
" Brethren here; for we did not ſo much as ac-
" quaint them with our Intention, till fourteen Days
" after our Army had begun their March."

After the Company had ſeparated, the *Sachems* ſent to the *New-England* Agents, deſiring to ſpeak with them in private; which being granted, the

CHAP. II. Speaker said, we have something to tell you, which was not proper to be spoken openly, for some of our People have an Affection to the *Owenagungas*; and we were afraid, that they would discover or hinder our Designs.

Now we assure our Brethren, that we are resolved to look on your Enemies as ours, and that we will first fall on the * *Owaragees*; and then on the *Owenagungas*, and lastly on the *French*; and that you may be convinced of our Intention, we design to send five of our young Men along with our Brethren to *New-England*, to guard them, who have Orders to view the Country of the *Owaragees*, to discover in what Manner it can be attacked with the most Advantage. This we always do before we make an Attempt on our Enemies. In a Word, Brethren, your War is our War, for we will live and dye with you.

But it is to be observed, that they confirmed nothing relating to these *Indians*, by giving Belts.

It is probable, that the *Sachems* acted with some Art on this Occasion, for they really had favourable Inclinations towards the *Owenagungas*; and they had Reason not to increase the Number of their Enemies, by making War on the *Eastern Indians*, who avoided doing them any Injury. The People of *Albany* likewise have always been averse to engage our *Indians* in a War with the *Eastern Indians*, lest it should change the Seat of the War, and bring it to their own Doors.

On the 25th the Magistrates of *Albany* had a private Conference with the *Sachems* of the *Five Nations*, and desired to know their Resolutions as to the War with *Canada*, and the Measures they resolved to follow. In this Conference the *Indians* saw that the People of *Albany* were so much afraid of the *French*, that their Spirits were sunk under the Apprehensions of the approaching War; and for this Reason made the following Answer.

* Called by the People of *New-England Panoock Indians*.

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" We have a hundred and forty Men out-ſkulking " about *Canada*; it is impoſſible for the *French* to at- " tempt any Thing, without being diſcovered and ha- " raſſed by theſe Parties: If the *French* ſhall attempt " any Thing this Way, all the *Five Nations* will come " to your Aſſiſtance, for our Brethren and we are but " one, and we will live and dye together. We have " deſired a hundred Men of our Brethren of *Boſton* to " aſſiſt us here, becauſe this Place is moſt expoſed; but " if the Governor of *Canada* is ſo ſtrong, as to overcome " us all united together, then he muſt be our Maſter, " and is not to be reſiſted; but we have Confidence in " a good and juſt Cauſe; for the great God of Heaven " knows how deceitfully the *French* have dealt with us, " their Arms can have no Succeſs. The Great God " hath ſent us Signs in the Sky to confirm this. We " have heard uncommon Noiſe in the Heavens, and " have ſeen Heads fall down upon Earth, which we " look upon as a certain Preſage of the Deſtruction " of the *French:* Take Courage! On this they all im- " mediately joined in ſinging and crying out, Cou- " rage! Courage!"

CHAP. III.

An Account of a general Council of the Five Nations *at* Onondaga, *to conſider the Count* De Frontenac's *Meſſage.*

ON the 27th of *December* 1689, two *Indians* came to *Albany*, being ſent by the *Onondaga* and *Oneydo Sachems*, with ſeven Hands of Wampum from each Nation, to tell their Brethren in *New-York* and *New-England*, that three of their old Friends, who had been carried Priſoners to *France*, were come with Propoſals from *Canada*; that there was a Council of the *Sachems* appointed to meet at *Onondaga*, and that they therefore deſired the Mayor of *Albany*, *Peter Scheyler*, and ſome others of their Brethren, to

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to come thither, to be present and to advise on an Affair of so great Consequence; for they were resolved to do nothing without the Knowledge and Consent of all those that were included in the Chain with them.

The same Messenger told them, that some Letters were sent to the Jesuit at *Oneydo*; and that they would neither burn, nor suffer those Letters to be opened, till the Brethren should first see them.

All that the Magistrates of *Albany* did on this important Occasion, was to send three *Indians* with Instructions in their Name, to dissuade the *Five Nations* from entertaining any Thoughts of Peace, or yielding to a Cessation of Arms.

On the 4th of *January* one of the chief *Mohawk Sachems* came to *Albany*, to tell the *Magistrates*, that he was to go to *Onondaga*, and desired the Brethren's Advice how to behave there; on which the Magistrates thought it necessary to send likewise the publick Interpreter, and another Person to assist at the general Meeting, with written Instructions; but no Person of Note, that had any Influence on the *Indians*, went.

When the Messengers arrived at *Oneydo*, they discoursed privately with one of the Prisoners that had returned from *France*, and found that he had no Love for the *French*; but it is impossible but that *Indians*, who had seen the *French* Court, and many of their Troops, must be surprised at their Grandeur: he complained however of the ill Usage he had met with. The *French* chose, on this Occasion, to send first to *Oneydo*, because of the Assistance they expected the Jesuit, that resided there, would give to their Negotiation.

I believe it will not be tedious to the Reader, that desires to know the *Indian Genius*, if I give a circumstantial Account of this general Council or Parliament of the *Five Nations*, that he may see in what Manner a People that we call Savages behave on such important Occasions.

On

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On the 22d of *January* the general Council was opened at *Onondaga*, consisting of eighty *Sachems*; in the first Place *Sadekanaghtie*, an *Onondaga Sachem*, rising up, addressed himself to the Messenger of *Albany*, saying,

Four Messengers are come from the Governor of *Canada*, *viz.* three who had been carried Prisoners to *France*, and a *Sachem* of the *Praying Indians* that live at *Montreal*.

The Governor of *Canada* notifies his Arrival to us, that he is the Count *de Frontenac*, who had been formerly Governor there; that he had brought back with him *Tawerahet* a *Cayuga Sachem*, and twelve Prisoners, that had been carried to *France*; then taking the Belt of *Wampum* in his Hand, and holding it by the Middle, he added, what I have said relates only to one Half of the Belt, the other Half is to let us know, that he intends to kindle again his Fire at *Cadarackui* next Spring, and therefore invites his Children, and *Dekanasora* an *Onondaga Captain* in particular, to treat there with him about the old Chain. Then *Adarahta* the chief *Sachem* of the *praying Indians* stood up, and said, with three Belts in his Hand, I advise you to meet the Governor of *Canada* as he desires; agree to this, if you would live, and gives one Belt of *Wampum*.

Tawerahet sends you this other Belt, to inform you of the Miseries, that he and the rest of your Countrymen have suffered in their Captivity; and to advise you to hearken to *Yonondio*, if you desire to live.

This third Belt is from **Thurensera*, † *Ohgueſſe*, and ‖ *Ertel*, who say by it, to their Brethren: We have interceded for you with *Yonondio*, and therefore ad-

* *Thurensera* signifies the Dawning of the Day, and was the Name given by the *Indians* to the Jesuit *Lamberville*, who had formerly resided at *Onondaga*. † Monsr. *le Morne*, the Word signifies a Partridge. ‖ *Ersel* signifies a Rose, the Name of some other *French* Gentleman, for whom the *Indians* had an Esteem.

vise

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vise you to meet him at *Cadarackui* in the Spring, because it will be for your Advantage.

When this *Sachem* had done speaking, the *Mohawk* Messenger sent from *Albany* delivered his Message Word for Word, as he had received it, without omitting the least Article. The Interpreter, while the *Indian* was speaking, read over a Paper, on which the Message was set down, lest any Thing should have been forgot.

After this *Cannehoot* a *Seneka Sachem* stood up, and gave the general Council a particular Account of a Treaty made last Summer, between the *Senekas* and the *Wagunha* Messengers, (one of the *Utawawa* Nations) who had concluded a Peace for themselves, and seven other Nations, to which the other four Nations were desired to agree, and their Brethren of *New-York* to be included in it. He said the Proposals made in several Propositions were as follow.

1. We are come to join two Bodies into one. Delivering up at the same Time two Prisoners.

2. We are come to learn Wisdom of you *Senekas*, and of the other *Five Nations*, and of your Brethren of *New-York*. Giving a Belt.

3. We by this Belt wipe away the Tears from the Eyes of your Friends, whose Relations have been killed in the War, and likewise * the Paint from your Soldiers Faces. Giving another Belt.

4. We now throw aside the Ax, which *Yonondio* put into our Hands, by this third Belt.

5. Let the Sun, as long as he shall endure, always shine upon us in Friendship. Here he gave a red Marble Sun as large as a Plate.

6. Let the Rain of Heaven wash away all Hatred, that we may again smoke together in Peace, giving a large Pipe of red Marble.

* The *Indians* always paint their Faces when they go to War, to make themselves look more terrible to the Enemy. A Soldier in the *Indian* Language is expressed by a Word, which signifies a Fair-fighter.

7. *Yonondio*

7. *Yonondio* is drunk, but we waſh our Hands clean from all his Actions. Giving a fourth Belt.

8. Now we are clean waſhed by the Water of Heaven, neither of us muſt defile ourſelves by hearkening to *Yonondio*.

9. We have twelve of your Nation Priſoners, who ſhall be brought home in the Spring; there he gave a Belt, to confirm the Promiſe.

10. We will bring your Priſoners when the Strawberries ſhall be in bloſſom, * at which Time we intend to viſit *Corlear*, and ſee the Place where the Wampum is made. (*New-York.*)

The Speaker added, we will alſo tell our Friends the other *Utawawa* Nations, and the *Dionondadies*, who have eleven of your People Priſoners, what we have now done, and invite them to make Peace with you.

He ſaid further, we have ſent three Meſſengers back with the *Wagunhas*, in order to confirm this Peace with their Nation.

After the *Seneka* Speaker had done, the *Wagunha* Preſents were hung up in the Houſe, in the Sight of the whole Aſſembly, and afterwards diſtributed among the ſeveral Nations, and their Acceptance was a Ratification of the Treaty. A large Belt was given alſo to the *Albany* Meſſengers as their Share.

The Belt of Wampum ſent from *Albany* was in like Manner hanged up, and afterwards divided.

New-England, which the *Indians* call *Kinſhon* (that is a Fiſh) ſent likewiſe the Model of a Fiſh, as a token of their adhering to the general Covenant. This Fiſh was handed round among the *Sachems*, and then laid aſide to be put up.

After theſe Ceremonies were over, *Sadekanahtie*, an *Onondaga* Speaker, ſtood up, and ſaid, Brethren,

* The *Indians* in this Manner diſtinguiſh the Seaſons of the Year, as the Time of planting Corn, or when it is ripe, when the Cheſnuts bloſſom, &c.

we

CHAP. III. we muſt ſtick to our Brother *Quider*, and look on *Yonondio* as our Enemy, for he is a Cheat: By *Quider* they meant *Peter Schyler* the Mayor of *Albany*, who had gained a conſiderable Eſteem among them; as they have no Labeals in their Language, they pronounce *Peter* by the Sound *Quider*.

The Meſſenger from *Canada* had brought Letters, and ſome medicinal Powder, for the Jeſuit *Milet*, who reſided at *Oneydo*. Theſe Letters and the Powder were delivered to the Interpreter from *Albany* to be carried thither, that the Contents of them might be made known to the *Sachems* of the ſeveral Nations. The Jeſuit was preſent all this While in their Council.

Then the Interpreter was deſired to ſpeak what he had to ſay from their Brethren at *Albany*. He told them, that a new Governor was arrived, who had brought a great many Soldiers from *England*. That the King of *England* had declared War againſt *France*, and that the People of *New-England* were fitting out Ships againſt *Canada*. He adviſed them, that they ſhould not hearken to the *French*, for when they talk of Peace, ſaid he, War is in their Heart, and deſired them to enter into no Treaty but at *Albany*, for the *French*, he ſaid, would mind no Agreement made any where elſe.

After this they had Conſultations for ſome Time together, and then gave the following Anſwer by their Speaker.

Brethren, our Fire burns at *Albany*. We will not ſend *Dekanaſora* to *Cadarackui*. We adhere to our old Chain with *Corlear*; we will proſecute the War with *Yonondio*, and will follow your Advice in drawing off our Men from *Cadarackui*. Brethren, we are glad to hear the News you tell us, but tell us no Lies.

Brother *Kinſhon*, we hear you deſign to ſend Soldiers to the eaſtward againſt the *Indians* there; but we adviſe you, now ſo many are united againſt the *French*, to fall immediately on them. Strike at the Root, when the Trunk ſhall be cut down, the Branches fall of Courſe.

Corlear and *Kinſhon*, Courage! Courage! In the Spring to *Quebeck*, take that Place, and you'll have your Feet on the Necks of the *French*, and all their Friends in *America*.

After this they agreed to the following Anſwer to be ſent to the Governor of *Canada*.

1. *Yonondio*, you have notified your Return to us, and that you have brought back 13 of our People that were carried to *France*, we are glad of it. You deſire us to meet you at *Cadarackui* next Spring, to treat of the old Chain; but *Yonondio*, how can we truſt you, after you have acted deceitfully ſo often? Witneſs what was done at *Cadarackui*; the Uſage our Meſſengers met with at *Utawawa*, and what was done to the *Senekas* at *Utawawa*. This was their Anſwer; however, they ſent a Belt with this, which always ſhews a Diſpoſition to treat.

2. *Therhanſera*, *Oghueſſe* and *Ertel*, do you obſerve Friendſhip with us, if you have not, how come you to adviſe us to renew Friendſhip with *Yonondio*, they ſent them likewiſe a Belt?

3. *Tawerahet*, the whole Council is glad to hear, that you are returned with the other twelve. *Yonondio*, you muſt ſend home *Tawerahet* and the others this very Winter, before Spring, and we will ſave all the *French* that we have Priſoners till that Time.

4. *Yonondio*, you deſire to ſpeak with us at *Cadarackui*: Don't you know that your Fire there is extinguiſhed? It is extinguiſhed with Blood, you muſt ſend home the Priſoners in the firſt Place.

5. We let you know that we have made Peace with the *Wagunhas*.

6. You are not to think, that we have laid down the Axe, becauſe we return an Anſwer; we intend no ſuch Thing: Our Far-fighters ſhall continue the War till our Countrymen return.

7. When our Brother *Tawerahet* is returned, then will we ſpeak to you of Peace.

As

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As soon as the Council broke up, their Resolutions were made publick to all their People, by the *Sachems* of their several Nations.

Two *Sachems* were sent to *Albany*, by their general Council, to inform their Brethren there of their Resolutions, and to bring back the Contents of the Letters sent from *Canada* to the Jesuit.

As soon as they arrived, one of the *Mohawks*, that had been sent from *Albany* to the Council, delivered the *Wagunha* Belt, and repeated over distinctly all the Articles agreed to with that Nation, and referred to the *Onondaga Speaker*, being one of those sent by the Council of *Albany*, to recite the Answer to the Governor of *Canada*. He rising up, repeated over the whole as before set down, and added; The *French* are full of Deceit; but I call God to witness, we have hitherto used no Deceit with them, but how we shall act for the future, Time only can discover. Then he assured the Brethren, that the *Five Nations* were resolved to prosecute the War, in Token whereof he presented * *Quider* with a Belt, in which three Axes were represented. Perhaps by this Representation only three Nations joined in sending it, the *Cayugas* and *Oneydoes* being more under the Influence of the Jesuit *Milet*, who lived among them intirely, according to their Manner of Life, and was adopted by the *Oneydoes*, and made one of their *Sachems*. The Letters from *Canada* to him were read, they contained nothing but common News and Compliments.

* *Peter Schyler*, Mayor of *Albany*.

The *Mohawk* Messengers, that had been sent from *Albany*, had carried with them Goods to sell at the general Council. This was taken Notice of at the general Council, and gave the *Indians* a mean Opinion of the People of *Albany*, and particularly of *Peter Schyler*; for it is exceedingly scandalous among the *Indians*, to employ a Merchant in publick Affairs; Merchants, (I mean the Traders with the *Indians*) are looked upon by them as Liars, and

People

People not to be truſted, and of no Credit, who by their Thoughts being continually turned upon Profit and Loſs, conſider every Thing with that private View. As this made a Noiſe at *Albany*, by its giving the Jeſuit an Opportunity of ſetting the Meſſengers from *Albany* in an ill Light, *Peter Scheyler* cleared himſelf by Oath, of his having any Intereſt directly or indirectly in thoſe Goods, and ſent a Belt back with his publick Juſtification. The *Mohawk* Meſſengers had refuſed to take the Goods, as being ſcandalous to the Buſineſs they went on; but were perſuaded, by being told that the Goods belonged to *Quider*.

The Magiſtrates of *Albany* adviſed the *Sachems*, to ſend the Jeſuit Priſoner to *Albany*, where he might be kept ſecurely, without having it in his Power to do Miſchief, but they could not prevail. The *Indians* were reſolved to keep all the Means of making Peace in their own Hands.

CHAP. IV.

The French *ſurpriſe* Schenectady. *The* Mohawks *Speech of Condoleance on that Occaſion.*

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THE *Count De Frontenac* being deſirous, as before obſerved, to raiſe the drooping Spirits of the *French* in *Canada*, by keeping them in Action, and engaging the moſt daring of them, in Enterprizes that might give Courage to the reſt, had ſent out three Parties againſt the *Engliſh* Colonies, in Hopes thereby to leſſen the Confidence which the *Five Nations* had in the *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance, now that *England* had declared War againſt *France*. The Party ſent againſt *New-York* was commanded by *Monſr. De Herville*, and was ordered to attempt the ſurpriſing of *Schenectady*, the neareſt Village to the *Mohawks*; It conſiſted of 150 *French Buſh-lopers* or *Indian*

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Traders, and of as many *Indians*, the moſt of them *French* Converts from the *Mohawks*, commonly called the *Praying Indians*, ſettled at a Place near *Montreal*, called *Cahnuaga*. They were well acquainted with all that Part of the Country round *Schenectady*; and came in Sight of the Place the 8th of *February* 1689-90.

The People of *Schenectady* were at that Time in the greateſt Security, notwithſtanding that they had Information from the *Indians*, of a Party of *French*, and *French Indians* being upon their March that Way. They did not think it practicable, in that Seaſon of the Year, while it was extremely cold, and the whole Country covered with Snow. Indeed *Europeans* will hardly think it poſſible, that Men could make ſuch a March through the Wilderneſs in the ſevereſt Froſts, without any Covering from the Heavens, or any Proviſion, except what they carried on their Backs.

Tho' the People of *Schenectady* were informed in the Evening before the Place was ſurpriſed, that ſeveral ſculking *Indians* were ſeen near the Place, they concluded, that they could be only ſome of the neighbouring *Indians*; and as they had no Officer of any Eſteem among them, not a ſingle Man could be perſuaded to watch in ſuch ſevere Weather, tho', as the *French* owned afterwards, if they had found the leaſt Guard or Watch, they would not have attempted the Place, but have ſurrendered themſelves Priſoners: They were ſo exceedingly diſtreſſed with the Length of their March, and with Cold, and Hunger, but finding the Place in fatal Security, they marched into the Heart of the Village, without being diſcovered by any one Perſon; then they raiſed their War Shout, entered the Houſes, murdered every Perſon they met, Men, Women, and Children, naked and in cold Blood; and at the ſame Time ſet Fire to the Houſes. A very few eſcaped, by running out naked into the Woods in this

this terrible Weather: And ſeveral hid themſelves, till the firſt Fury of the Attack was over; but theſe were ſoon driven from their lurking Places by the Fire, and were all made Priſoners. CHAP. VI.

Captain *Alexander Glen*, at this Time, lived at a Diſtance by himſelf, on the other Side of the River, and was the moſt noted Man in the Place. He had at ſeveral Times been kind to the *French*, who had been taken Priſoners by the *Mohawks*, and had ſaved ſeveral of them from the Fire. The *French* were ſenſible what Horror this cruel ſacking of a defenceleſs Place, and murdering People in cold Blood, muſt raiſe in Mens Minds; and to leſſen this, they reſolved to ſhew their Gratitude to Captain *Glen*. They had paſſed his Houſe in the Night, and obſerving that he ſtood on his Defence the next Morning, ſome of them went to the River Side, and calling to him, aſſured him, that they deſigned him no Injury. They perſuaded him to come to the *French* Officer, who reſtored to him all his Relations that were Priſoners.

Some *Mohawks* being alſo found in the Village, the *French* diſmiſſed them, with Aſſurance, that they deſigned them no Hurt.

This Conduct was not only neceſſary to promote the Peace which the *Count De Frontenac* with ſo much Earneſtneſs deſired, but likewiſe to ſecure their Retreat, by making the *Mohawks* leſs eager to purſue them.

The *French* marched back, without reaping any viſible Advantage from this barbarous Enterprize, beſides the murdering ſixty-three innocent Perſons in cold Blood, and carrying twenty-ſeven of them away Priſoners.

The Care the *French* took to ſooth the *Mohawks* had not intirely it's Effect, for as ſoon as they heard of this Action, a hundred of their readieſt young Men purſued the *French*, fell upon their Rear, and killed and took twenty-five of them.

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This Action frightened the Inhabitants in and about *Albany* so much, that many resolved to desert the Place, and retire to *New-York*. They were packing up and preparing for this Purpose, when the *Mohawk Sachems* came to *Albany* to condole, according to their Custom, with their Friends ,when any Misfortune befals them. I shall give their Speech on this Occasion, as it will be of Use to the Reader, in order to his forming a true Notion of the *Indian Genius*. They spoke the twenty-fifth of *March* as follows.

" Brethren, the Murder of our Brethren at *Schenectady* by the *French* grieves us as much, as if it " had been done to our selves, for we are in the same " Chain; and no Doubt our Brethren of *New-England* will be likewise sadly affected with this cruel " Action of the *French*. The *French* on this Occa- " sion have not acted like brave Men, but like " Thieves and Robbers. Be not therefore discou- " raged. We give this Belt *to wipe away your Tears*.

" Brethren, we lament the Death of so many of our " Brethren, whose Blood has been shed at *Schenectady*. " We don't think that what the *French* have done can " be called a Victory, it is only a farther Proof of their " cruel Deceit. The Governor of *Canada* sends to " *Onondaga*, and talks to us of Peace with our whole " House, but War was in his Heart, as you now see " by woful Experience. He did the same formerly " at *Cadarackui*, and in the *Senekas* Country. This " is the third Time he has acted so deceitfully. He has " broken open our House at both Ends, formerly " in the *Senekas* Country, and now here. We hope " however to be revenged of them. One Hundred " of our bravest young Men are in Pursuit of them, " they are brisk Fellows, and they will follow the " *French* to their Doors. We will beset them so " closely, that not a Man in *Canada* shall dare to step " out of Doors to cut a Stick of Wood; But now *we* " *gather up our Dead, to bury them*, by this second " Belt.

" Brethren,

" Brethren, we came from our Caſtles with Tears " in our Eyes, to bemoan the Bloodſhed at *Sche-* " *nectady* by the Perfidious *French*. While we bury " our Dead murdered at *Schenectady*, we know not " what may have befallen our own People, that are in " Purſuit of the Enemy, they may be dead; what has " befallen you may happen to us; and therefore *we* " *come to bury our Brethren at* Schenectady with " this third Belt.

" Great and ſudden is the Miſchief, as if it had fal- " len from Heaven upon us. Our Forefathers taught " us to go with all Speed to bemoan and lament with " our Brethren, when any Diſaſter or Misfortune hap- " pens to any in our Chain. Take this Bill of Vi- " gilance, that you may be more watchful for the fu- " ture. *We give our Brethren Eye-Water* to make " them ſharp ſighted, giving a fourth Belt.

" We are now come to the Houſe where we uſual- " ly renew the Chain; but alas! we find the Houſe " polluted, polluted with Blood. All the *Five Nati-* " *ons* have heard of this, and we are come to wipe " away the Blood, and clean the Houſe. We come " to invite *Corlear*, and every one of you, and *Quider* " (calling to every one of the principal Men preſent by " their Names) *to be revenged of the Enemy*, by this " fifth Belt.

" Brethren, be not diſcouraged, we are ſtrong enough. " This is the Beginning of your War, and the whole " Houſe have their Eyes fixed upon you at this Time, " to obſerve your Behaviour. They wait your Moti- " on, and are ready to join in any reſolute Meaſures.

" Our Chain is a ſtrong Chain, it is a Silver Chain, " it can neither ruſt nor be broken. We, as to our " Parts, are reſolute to continue the War.

" We will never deſiſt, ſo long as a Man of us re- " mains. Take Heart, do not pack up and go " away, * this will give Heart to a daſtardly Enemy.

* This was ſpoke to the *Engliſh*, who were about removing from *Albany*.

CHAP. IV.

" We are of the Race of the Bear, and a Bear you
" know never yields, while one Drop of Blood is left.
" *We muſt all be Bears*; giving a ſixth Belt.
" Brethren be patient, this Diſaſter is an Affliction
" which has fallen from Heaven upon us. The Sun,
" which hath been cloudy, and ſent this Diſaſter, will
" ſhine again with its pleaſant Beams. Take Courage,
" ſaid he, Courage, repeating the Word ſeveral Times
" as they gave a ſeventh Belt.

(*To the* Engliſh.)

Brethren, three Years ago we were engaged in a bloody War with the *French*, and you encouraged us to proceed in it. Our Succeſs anſwered our Expectation; but we were not well begun, when *Corlear* ſtopt us from going on. Had you permitted us to go on, the *French* would not now have been able to do the Miſchief, they have done, we would have prevented their ſowing, planting or reaping.

We would have humbled them effectually, but now we dye. The Obſtructions you then made now ruin us. Let us after this be ſteady, and take no ſuch falſe Meaſures for the future, but *proſecute the War vigorouſly*. Giving a Bever Skin.

The Brethren muſt keep good Watch, and if the Enemy come again, ſend more ſpeedily to us. Don't deſert *Schenectady*. The Enemy will glory in ſeeing it deſolate. It will give them Courage that had none before, *fortify the Place*, it is not well fortified now: The *Stockadoes* are too ſhort, the *Indians* can jump over them. Gave a Bever Skin.

Brethren, The Miſchief done at *Schenectady* cannot be helped now; but for the future, when the Enemy appears any where, let nothing hinder your ſending to us by Expreſſes, and fire great Guns, that all may be alarmed. We adviſe you to bring all the *River Indians* under your Subjection to live near *Albany*, to be ready on all Occaſions.

Send

Send to *New-England*, tell them what has happened to you. They will undoubtedly awake and lend us their helping Hand. It is their Intereſt, as much as ours, to puſh the War to a ſpeedy Concluſion. Be not diſcouraged, the *French* are not ſo numerous as ſome People talk. If we but heartily unite to puſh on the War, and mind *our Buſineſs*, *the* French *will ſoon be ſubdued.* CHAP. IV.

The Magiſtrates having returned an Anſwer on the twenty ſeventh, to the Satisfaction of the *Indians*, they repeated it all over, Word by Word, to let the Magiſtrates ſee how carefully they minded it, and then added,

Brethren, we are glad to find you are not diſcouraged. The beſt and wiſeſt Men ſometimes make Miſtakes. Let us now purſue the War vigorouſly. We have a hundred Men out, they are good Scouts. We expect to meet all the *Sachems* of the other Nations, as they come to condole with you. You need not fear our being ready, at the firſt Notice. Our Ax is always in our Hands, but take Care that you be timely ready. Your Ships, that muſt do the principal Work, are long a fitting out. We do not deſign to go out with a ſmall Company, or in ſculking Parties; but as ſoon as the Nations can meet, we ſhall be ready with our whole Force. If you would bring this War to a happy Iſſue, you muſt begin ſoon, before the *French* can recover the Loſſes they have received from us, and get new Vigour and Life, therefore ſend in all Haſte to *New-England*. Neither you nor we can continue long in the Condition we are now in, we muſt order Matters ſo, that the *French* be kept in continual Fear and Alarm at home; for this is the only Way to be ſecure, and in Peace here.

The *Scahkok Indians*, in our Opinion, are well placed where they are (to the Northward of *Albany*); they are a good Out-guard; they are our Children, and we ſhall take Care that they do their

CHAP. IV. Duty: But you must take Care of the *Indians* below the Town, place them nearer the Town, so as they may *be of most Service to you.*

Here we see the *Mohawks* acting like hearty Friends, and if the Value of the Belts given at that Time be considered, together with what they said on that Occasion, they gave the strongest Proofs of their Sincerity. Each of these Belts amount to a large Sum in the *Indian* Account.

The *English* of *New-York* and the *French* of *Canada* were now entering into a War, in which the Part the *Five Nations* are to take is of the greatest Consequence to both; the very Being of the *French* Colony depended on it, as well as the Safety of the *English*. The *Indians* at this Time had the greatest Aversion to the *French*, and they desired nothing so much, as that the *English* might join heartily in this War. We shall see by the Sequel how a publick Spirit, directed by wise Counsels, can overcome all Difficulties, while a selfish Spirit loses all, even natural Advantages. In the present Case, the Turn Things took seems to have been entirely owing to one Thing. The *French* in making the Count *de Frontenac* Governor of *Canada*, chose the Man every Way the best qualified for this Service: The *English* seemed to have little Regard to the Qualification of the Person they sent, but to gratify a Relation or a Friend, by giving him an Opportunity to make a Fortune; and as he knew that he was recommended with this View, his Counsels were chiefly employed for this Purpose.

By this Means an *English Governor* generally wants the Esteem of the People; while they think that a Governor has not the Good of the People in View, but his own, they on all Occasions are jealous of him; so that even a good Governor, with more Difficulty, pursues generous Purposes and publick Benefits, because the People suspect them to be mere Pretences to cover a private Design. It is for this Reason, that any Man, opposing a Governor, is sure

ſure to meet with the Favour of the People, almoſt in every Caſe. On the other Hand, the Opinion the *French* had of the Count *de Frontenac*'s publick Spirit, and of his Wiſdom and Diligence, made them enter into all his Meaſures without heſitating, and chearfully obey all his Commands.

CHAP. V.

The Five Nations *continue the War with the* French; *the* Mohawks *incline to Peace; their Conferences with the* Governor *of* New-York.

THE *Governor* of *Canada* received Hopes that the *Five Nations* inclined to Peace, by their returning an Anſwer to *Therawaet*'s Meſſage, and thought he might now venture to ſend ſome *French* to them with further Propoſals. The Chevalier *D'O*, with an Interpreter called *Collin*, and ſome others, went; but they had a much warmer Reception than they expected, being forced to run the Gauntlet through a long Lane of *Indians*, as they entered their Caſtle, and were afterwards delivered up Priſoners to the *Engliſh*. CHAP. V.

The *Five Nations* kept out at this Time ſmall Parties, that continually haraſſed the *French*. The Count *de Frontenac* ſent Captain *Louvigni* to *Miſſilimakinak*, to relieve the Gariſon, and he had Orders, by all Means, to prevent the Peace which the *Utawawas* and *Quatoghies* were upon the Point of concluding with the *Five Nations*. He carried with him one hundred forty three *French*, and ſix *Indians*, and was likewiſe accompanied with a Lieutenant and thirty Men, till he got one hundred twenty Miles from *Montreal*. They were met in *Cadarackui River*, at

CHAP. V. at a Place called the *Cats*, by a Party of the *Five Nations*, who fell vigorouſly on their Canoes, killed ſeveral of the *French*, and made them give Way; but *Louvigni*, by putting his Men aſhore, at laſt got the better, after a ſmart Engagement, in which the *Indians* had ſeveral Men killed, and two Men, and as many Women, taken Priſoners. I am obliged to rely on the *French* Account of theſe Skirmiſhes; they do not mention the Number of the *Indians* in this Rencounter, but I ſuſpect them to have been much fewer than the *French*; for when the Enemy are equal in Number, or greater, they ſeldom forget to tell it. One of the *Indian* Priſoners was carried by them to *Miſſilimackinak*, to confirm this Victory, and was delivered to the *Utawawas*, who eat him. The Lieutenant carried the other back with him. He was given to *Therawaet*.

To revenge this Loſs, the *Five Nations* ſent a Party againſt the *Iſland of Montreal*, who fell on that Part called the *Trembling Point*; and though they were diſcovered before they gave their Blow, they attacked a Party of regular Troops, and killed the commanding Officer, and twelve of his Men: Another Party carried off fifteen or ſixteen Priſoners from *Riviere Puante*, over againſt *Trois Rivieres*. This Party was purſued, and finding that they were like to be overpowered, murdered their Priſoners and made their Eſcape. Theſe Incurſions kept all the River, from *Montreal* to *Quebeck*, in continual Alarm, and obliged the Governor to ſend all the Soldiers to guard the ſouth Side of the River. Notwithſtanding this, five Perſons were carried away in Sight of *Sorel Fort*, by a ſmall ſkulking Party, but they were ſoon afterwards recovered by the Soldiers. About the ſame Time another Party burnt the Plantations at *St. Ours*.

The *Five Nations* had conceived great Hopes from the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, as the Magiſtrates

trates of *Albany* had promiſed the *Mohawks*, when they came to condole, after the ſurpriſing of *Schenectady*; but the *Engliſh* were ſo far from performing theſe Promiſes, that many of the Inhabitants retired from *Albany* to *New-York*; and they who had the Adminiſtration of Affairs, were ſo intent on their party Quarrels, that they intirely neglected the *Indian* Affairs. Indeed the People of *New-York* have too often made large Promiſes, and have thereby put the *Indians* upon bold Enterprizes, when no Meaſures were concerted for ſupporting them. This made the *Indians* think, that the *Engliſh* were laviſh of *Indian* Lives and too careful of their own. The *Mohawks*, who lived neareſt the *Engliſh*, were moſt ſenſible of theſe Things, and ſoon entertained Notions prejudicial to the Opinion they ought to have had of the *Engliſh* Prudence and Conduct; it is even probable, theſe *Indians* began to entertain a mean Opinion of both the *Engliſh* Courage and Integrity. It is not ſtrange then, that the *Mohawks* at laſt gave Ear to the aſſiduous Application of their Countrymen, the *praying Indians*, who, with *French* Arguments, perſuaded them to make Peace as ſoon as poſſible, without truſting longer to the *Engliſh*, who had ſo often diſappointed or deceived them. CHAP. V.

The *Mohawks* ſent one of their *Sachems*, *Odigacege*, to the *praying Indians*, who introduced him to the Count *de Frontenac*. The Count made him welcome, and told him, that he was ſorry for the Injuries his Predeceſſors had done them; but that he would treat them like Friends, if their future Conduct did not prevent him, and gave him a Belt, with Propoſals of Peace to his Nation.

Colonel *Slaughter*, who was then Governor of *New-York*, being informed that the *Five Nations* were like to make Peace with the *French*, by their having loſt much of their Confidence in the *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance, found it neceſſary to meet them, which he

CHAP. V.

he did in the End of *May* 1691. There were present at that Time six *Oneydo*, eleven *Onondaga*, four *Cayuga*, and ten *Seneka Sachems*. He renewed the Covenant with them, and gave them Presents. The *Mohawks* having entered into a Treaty with the *French*, did not join with the other four Nations in their Answer.

On the second of *June* the Speaker, in Name of the other four Nations, told him, they were glad to see a Governor again in this Place; that they had learned from their Ancestors, that the first Ship which arrived in this Country surprized them exceedingly; that they were curious to know what was in its huge Belly. They found Christians in it, and among them one *Jacques*, with whom they made a Chain of Friendship, which has been preserved to this Day. By that Chain it was agreed, that whatever Injury was done to the one, should be deemed, by both Sides, as likewise done to the other. Then they mentioned the Confusion that had lately been in the Government of *New-York*, which had like to have confounded all their Affairs, but hoped all would be reduced to their wonted Order and Quiet. They complained of several of the Brethren leaving *Albany* in Time of Danger, and praised those by Name who staid, and then said: Our Tree of Peace, which grows in this Place, has of late been much shaken, we must now secure and fasten its Roots; we must frequently manure and dress it, that its Roots may spread far.

They assured the Governor, that they were resolved to prosecute the War against the *French* as long as they lived, and that they would never speak of Peace, but with the common Consent. They abhor those that do otherwise, and desired that the Brethren might not keep a Correspondence with *Canada* by Letters. You need not (said they) press us to mind the War, we mind it above all Things; do you but your Parts, lay aside all other Thoughts

but

but that of the War, for it is the only Thing we have at Heart. They gave Bevers at the End of every distinct Part of their Answer. CHAP. V.

On the fourth the *Mohawks* spoke to the Governor, in Presence of the other four Nations: They confessed the Negotiations they had with the *Praying Indians*, and with the Governor of *Canada*, and that they had received a Belt from him. Then they restored one of the Prisoners taken at *Schenectady*, as the Fruit of that Negotiation. They desired the Governor's Advice, and the Advice of the whole House, what Answer to return to the Governor of *Canada*; and lastly, desired the *Senekas* to release the Prisoners they had taken from the *Praying Indians*.

Colonel *Slaughter* check'd the *Mohawks* for entering into a separate Treaty with the Enemy, and said he could admit of no Proposals of Peace. He told them, that the Prisoners taken from the *Praying Indians* must not be restored; putting them in mind, that some of them having been formerly released, soon after returned and murdered several People, and burnt several Houses.

He assured them of his Assistance, and then added, You must keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm. The *Mohawks* thanked him for his Assurance of Assistance; but took Notice of his saying, *You* must keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm. Why don't you say, they replied, We will keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm. In the last Place, the *Mohawks* renewed their League with all the *English* Colonies; adding, Though an angry Dog has endeavoured to bite the Chain in Pieces, we are resolved to keep it firm, both in Peace and in War: We now renew the old Chain, that so the Tree of Peace and Prosperity may flourish, and spread its Roots through all the Country.

In

In the last Place, the four Nations answered the *Mohawks*.

"*Mohawks*, our Brethren, in answer to your "Proposals from the Governor of *Canada*, we must "put you in Mind of his Deceit and Treachery; "we need only give one recent Instance, how he "lately sent to the *Senekas* to treat of Peace, and at "the same Time fell upon *Schenectady*, and cut that "Place off. We tell you, that the Belt sent by "the *French* Governor is Poison; we spew it out of "our Mouths, we absolutely reject it, and are re-"solved to prosecute the War as long as we live." Then they left the Belt lying on the Ground.

CHAP. VI.

The English *attack* Montreal *by Land, in Conjunction with the* Indians, *and* Quebeck *by Sea.*

CHAP. VI. IT was now evident that the *Indians* could no longer be amused with Words, and that, unless the *English* entered soon upon Action, the *French* would carry their Design of making Peace with the *Five Nations*, and the *English* be left to carry on the War in *America* by themselves. Certainly a more proper Opportunity of doing it with Success could not be expected, than at present, while the *French* in *Canada* had neither recovered their Spirits, nor the Strength they had lost, by the terrible Incursions of the *Five Nations*. A joint Invasion on *Canada* was concerted with *New-England*, they were to attack *Quebeck* by Sea, while *New-York* attacked *Montreal* by Land. The Governor therefore proposed to the *Indians* to join with him in attacking *Canada*, for which Purpose he told them, that he designed

designed to send a considerable Force this Summer. They desired Time to consult on it at their general Meeting, which was soon to be held at *Onondaga*, and to know what Number of Christians he designed to send, that they might join a suitable Number of their Men. To this the Governor answered, that he must not communicate the Particulars of his Design to so many, because they could not then be kept secret from the Enemy; as he found by the Discoveries that were last Year made to the *French* by that Means. CHAP. VI.

It was at last agreed, that the *Mohawks* should join with the Christians that were to march from *New-York* directly against *Montreal*, and that the other four Nations should send a considerable Party down *Cadarackui Lake*, and join them before *Montreal*.

Major *Peter Schuyler*, the same whom the *Indians* call *Quider*, commanded the Party sent from *New-York*, which consisted of three hundred Men, one half Christians, the other *Mohawks* and *Scahkook Indians*. He set out from *Albany* about Midsummer. As he was preparing his Canoes to pass *Corlear*'s Lake, he was discovered by the *French Indians*, who immediately returned to *Montreal*, to give Information of what they had seen. The Chevalier *Clermont* was sent out to make further Discoveries: He found the *English* above *Chamblie*, and went immediately back with the Intelligence he there gained. In the mean while Mr. *de Callieres*, Governor of *Montreal*, did all in his Power to give Major *Schuyler* a proper Reception, by drawing the Militia and regular Troops together for the Defence of the Place. There happened to be a very considerable Number of *Utawawas* trading at that Time at *Montreal*, Mr. *de Colliere*, in Order to engage them to join him, made a great Feast for them, went among them, and, after the *Indian* Manner, began the war Song, leading up the Dance with his

CHAP. V.

Axe in his Hand, and ſhouting and hollowing in the ſame wild Manner the *Indians* do. This done, he carried his whole Force, which conſiſted of twelve hundred Men, croſs the River, and encamped on the ſouth Side, at *la Prairie de la Magdeleine*, together with a great Number of *Utawawas*, the *Praying Indians*, and other *French Indians*. The famous *Therawaet* being now entirely gained by the Careſſes of the Count *de Frontenac*, made one of the Number. They encamped round the Fort, which ſtood on a ſteep riſing Ground between two Meadows.

Major *Schuyler* having left forty of his Men to guard his Canoes, which had carried him croſs the Lake, marched on without ſtopping. He got into a Hollow, which led into the Meadow, without being diſcovered; and marching under that Cover, he fell ſuddenly upon the Militia, who were ſoon put into Confuſion, and many of them, and of the *Utawawas*, who were poſted with them, were killed. He purſued them as they fled to the Fort, which he attacked briſkly, but was obliged to leave it, by the Approach of the regular Troops who came to relieve it. He received them however bravely, and, after they had loſt ſeveral Officers and many Men, they retired. Major *Schuyler* finding the Number of the Enemy much greater than was expected, and being informed that a conſiderable Party of the Enemy had marched Southward, he began to apprehend, that this Party was ſent to cut off his Retreat, by deſtroying his Canoes. It was reſolved therefore immediately to follow this Party; he overtook them, and they covering themſelves behind ſome large fallen Trees, he attacked them, and made his Way through them, but with conſiderable Loſs.

In this Attack the *Mohawks* ſignalized themſelves, but the *Scahkook Indians* did not behave themſelves well. The *Mohawks*, upon no Occaſi-

on, yielded an Inch of Ground, till the *Engliſh* firſt gave Way. The *French*, by their own Accounts, loſt, in the ſeveral Attacks made by *Schuyler*, two Captains, ſix Lieutenants, and five Enſigns, and, in all, three hundred Men, ſo that their Slain were in Number more than Major *Schuyler* had with him. The *Mohawks* ſuffered much, having ſeventeen Men killed, and eleven wounded. They returned to *Albany* the eleventh of *Auguſt*. CHAP. VI.

After the *Engliſh* under Major *Schuyler* had retired, an *Owenagunga Indian* came from *New-England*, with an Account of the Preparations made there againſt *Canada*, and that they had actually ſailed.

This Fleet, which was commanded by Sir *William Phips*, was diſcovered in *St. Laurence Bay*, while the Count *de Frontenac* remained at *Montreal*; and thereupon he made all poſſible Haſte to *Quebeck*, and carried three hundred Men with him.

The Fleet, which conſiſted of thirty Sail, did not reach *Quebeck* till the ſeventh of *October*. Sir *William* ſpent three Days in nothing but Conſultation, while the *French* made all poſſible Preparation for a Defence, and, by this Means, ſuffered them to get over the Fright and Conſternation, into which the firſt Appearance of the Fleet had thrown them; for the Place was not in any Poſture of Defence. It gave them Time likewiſe to draw all the Country round them into the Town. And on the fourth Day Sir *William* ſummoned the *Count* to ſurrender, who returned him ſuch an Anſwer as his Conduct deſerved.

The *Engliſh* landed four Miles below the Town, and had thick Woods to march through, before they could come at it, in which Ambuſcades of *French* and *Indians* were made at proper Diſtances, by whom the *Engliſh* were repulſed with conſiderable Loſs. They attempted the Wood again the next Day with no better Succeſs.

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The *French*, in their Account of this Action, ſay, that the Men, though they appeared to be as little diſciplined as Men could be, behaved with great Bravery, but that Sir *William*'s Conduct was ſuch, that, if he had been in Concert with them, he could not have done more to ruin the Enterprize; yet his Fidelity was never ſuſpected. In ſhort, this Deſcent was ſo ill managed, that the *Engliſh* got on Board again in the Night, with the Loſs of all the Cannon and Baggage which they had landed.

The *French* thought themſelves in ſuch great Danger at that Time, that they attributed their Deliverance to the moſt immediate Protection of Heaven, in confounding the Devices of their Enemy, and by depriving them of common Senſe; and for this Reaſon the People of *Quebeck* make an annual Proceſſion, in Commemoration of this Deliverance.

Sir *William* cannonaded the Town for ſome Time with little Execution, and then returned in Haſt, Winter approaching; indeed that Seaſon was already ſo far advanced, that he loſt eight Veſſels in his Return.

The *Five Nations* continued their Incurſions all along *St. Laurence River*, from *Montreal* to *Quebeck*, and carried away many Scalps. At one Time a *French* Officer, with thirty eight Men, ſurpriſed ſome of the *Five Nations* in a Cabin, which they had built near *Lake St. Piere*. Some of them eſcaped and informed two other Cabins, which the *French* had not diſcovered, and they returned with their Companions, and killed the Captain and Lieutenant, and one half of the Men.

Notwithſtanding that the *French* preſerved their Country, theſe warlike Expeditions, and the Neceſſity they were under of being on their Guard, prevented their cultivating the Ground, or of reaping the Fruit of what they had ſowed or planted. This

occaſioned a Famine in *Canada*, and, to increaſe the Miſery of the poor Inhabitants, they were forced to feed the Soldiers gratis, while their own Children wanted Bread.

In *October* the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes* came to *Albany*, to condole with the *Engliſh*, for the Men loſt in the Expedition againſt *Montreal*, as they had already done with the *Mohawks*. They ſaid it was ever their Cuſtom to condole with their Friends when they loſt any Number of Men in Battle, though they had the Victory. They at the ſame Time, as they had often done before, complained of the Dearneſs of Powder: Why, ſay they, do you call us your King's Soldiers, when you will not ſell us Powder at the uſual and reaſonable Rates?

And in anſwer to a Complaint, of there not being a ſufficient Number of *Engliſh* ſent againſt *Montreal*, the People of *Albany* upbraided them with a Breach of Promiſe, in not ſending that Party down *Cadarackui River* which they promiſed, which they ſaid was the chief Reaſon of the want of Succeſs in that Expedition.

CHAP. VII.

The French *and the* Five Nations *continue the War all Winter with various Succeſs. The* French *burn a* Captain *of the* Five Nations *alive.*

CHAP. VII.

THE old *French* Governor kept up his Vigour and Spirits wonderfully, no Fatigue made him ever think of Reſt. He knew of what Uſe it would be to convince the *Five Nations*, that the joint Attack of the *Engliſh* and *Indians* had neither weakened him, nor frightened him from carrying on the War with as much Vigour as before.

CHAP. VII.

It was absolutely necessary that the *Utawawas* and other *Western Indians*, who came to *Montreal* to trade, should return safe to their own Country, otherwise there would be an End to the *French* Trade with those Nations, upon which the Being of *Canada* depends; for it is only by the *Fur-trade* with these Nations that they make Returns to *Europe*; and if these Nations did not return in Time, all the *Western Indians* would look on the *French* as lost, and consequently would make Peace with the *Five Nations*, and perhaps join in the Destruction of *Canada*.

Captain *la Foreſt*, with one hundred and ten Men, was sent to conduct the *Utawawas* Home; he carried with him considerable Presents sent by the King of *France*, to confirm these Nations in the *French* Interest.

Two *Indian* Prisoners, taken at *la Prairie*, were given to the *Utawawas*, and carried with them, to confirm the Stories they were to tell of their Successes against the *English* and *Five Nations*. These poor Men were there burnt alive; and if I should add, that it was done by *French* Instigation, what I shall relate by and by will clear me of the want of Charity. I believe it was so, in Order to rivet the Hatred between these People and the *Five Nations*.

The *Five Nations* continued their Incursions all Winter on *Canada*. Forty of the *Mohawks* fell upon *Fort Vercheres*, and carried off twenty of the Inhabitants; but the Alarm reaching *Montreal*, Mr. *de Crizaei*, with one hundred Men of the regular Troops, was sent in pursuit of them, who recovered most of the Prisoners.

The Count *de Frontenac* being informed, that a considerable Party of the *Five Nations* hunted Bever on the Neck of Land between *Cadarackui Lake* and *Lake Erie*, with great Security, resolved to give them

them a better Opinion of the Strength and Courage of the *French*. For this Purpose he sent three hundred and twelve Men to surprise them, under the Command of Mr. *Beaucour*, a young Gentleman. The *Praying Indians* of *Montreal* were of the Party. This Expedition being in the Winter, they were obliged to undergo cruel Fatigues, while they marched on the Snow with snow Shoes, and carried all their Provision on their Backs. Several of the *French* had their Feet frozen, which obliged fifteen to return, with some old *Indians*, that could not bear the Fatigue; and it was with much Difficulty that *Beaucour* could persuade the rest to continue their March. After a March to a surprizing Distance, at that Season of the Year, they surprised eighty of the *Five Nations*, who notwithstanding made a brave Defence, and did not run before they left most of their Men dead on the Spot. Three Women were made Prisoners, with whom the *French* immediately turned back to *Montreal*. Some straggling Parties went towards *Albany*, but did no more Mischief than killing two or three straggling Persons, and alarming the Country. CHAP. VII.

The Trade to *Missilimakinak* being still intirely stopt, by the Parties of the *Five Nations* investing *Cadarackui River*, by which, and *Cadarackui Lake*, the Passage in Canoes is made to the *Western Indians*, Captain *la Noue*, with a Command of the regular Troops, was ordered early in the Spring to guard the Traders through that Passage; but when he reached the *Falls de Calumette*, he discovered the Enemy, and returned faster than he went.

La Noue had Orders a second Time to attempt this Passage, and went as far as the River *du Lievre* (thirty Leagues from *Montreal*) without any Obstruction; but there discovering several Canoes of the *Five Nations*, he went back as fast as before.

CHAP. VII.

The *Quatoghies* and the *Bullheads* * having informed the *French* of another ſmaller River, which falls into *Cadarackui River*, and runs to the Northward of it, by which a Paſſage might be made to the Lakes, it was reſolved to attempt this Paſſage, though it were much farther round, and more dangerous, there being many more rapid Falls in that River. Three Officers, with thirty Soldiers, were ſent with the Traders for this Purpoſe, but a Party of the *Five Nations* meeting with them in the long Fall, before they reached this River, they were all killed or taken, except four that eſcaped back to *Montreal.*

A conſiderable Party of the *Five Nations*, under the Command of *Blackkettle*, a famous Hero, continued a long Time on *Cadarackui River*, in hopes of meeting with other *French* Parties, in their Paſſage towards *Miſſilimakinak*; but finding that no Attempts were made that Way, he reſolved to make an Irruption into the Country round *Montreal.* The *French* ſay he had ſix hundred Men with him; but they uſually increaſe the Number of their Enemies, in the Relation they give of theſe Tranſactions, either to excuſe their Fears, or to increaſe their Glory.

Blackkettle overrun the Country (to uſe the *French* Expreſſion) as a Torrent does the Low-lands, when it overflows its Banks, and there is no withſtanding it. The Soldiers had Orders to ſtand upon the defenſive within their Forts. Mr. *de Vaudreuil* purſued this Party (after they had burnt and ravaged the whole Country) at the Head of four hundred Men; he overtook them and ſurpriſed them. The *Five Nations* fought deſperately, though the ſame Author, at this Place, makes them no more than two hundred Men. After they had loſt twenty Men on the Spot, they broke through the *French*, and marched off. The *French* loſt four Officers

* The *Bullheads* are ſaid to be cowardly People.

and

and many common Soldiers, and they took five Men, nine Women, and five Children Prisoners. CHAP. VII.

The *Five Nations* in a few Days had however some Revenge; a Captain having had Orders to guard the Vessels from *Montreal* to *Quebeck*, a Party of the *Five Nations* attacked him in his Return, as he passed through the Islands in *Lake St. Pierre*. He himself was killed, and the whole Party intirely routed.

The *French* all this Summer were obliged to keep upon the defensive within their Forts, while the *Five Nations*, in small Parties, ravaged the whole Country, so that no Man stirred the least Distance from a Fort, but he was in danger of losing his Scalp.

The Count *de Frontenac* was pierced to the Heart, when he found that he could not revenge these terrible Incursions of the *Five Nations*; and his Anguish made him guilty of such a Piece of monstrous Cruelty, in burning a Prisoner alive after the *Indian* Manner, as though I have frequently mentioned to have been done by the *Indians*, yet I forbore giving the Particulars of such barbarous Acts, suspecting it might be too offensive to Christian Ears, even in the History of Savages. Here however I think it useful to give a circumstantial Account of this horrid Act, to shew on one Hand, what Courage and Resolution, Virtue, the Love of Glory, and the Love of one's Country can instill into Mens Minds, even where the Knowledge of true Religion is wanting; and on the other Hand, how far a false Policy, under a corrupt Religion, can debase even great Minds.

The Count *de Frontenac*, I say, condemned two Prisoners of the *Five Nations* to be burnt publickly alive. The Intendant's Lady intreated him to moderate the Sentence, and the Jesuits, it is said, used their Endeavours for the same Purpose. But the Count *de Frontenac* said, there is a Necessity of

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making such an Example, to frighten the *Five Nations* from approaching the Plantations, since the Indulgence, that had hitherto been shewn, had incouraged them to advance with the greatest Boldness to the very Gates of their Towns; while they thought they run no other Risque, but of being made Prisoners, where they live better than at Home. He added, that the *Five Nations* having burnt so many *French*, justified this Method of making Reprizals. But with Submission to the Politeness of the *French* Nation, may I not ask, whether every (or any) horrid Action of a barbarous Enemy, can justify a civilized Nation in doing the like?

When the Governor could not be moved, the Jesuits went to the Prison, to instruct the Prisoners in the Mysteries of our Holy Religion, *viz.* of the Trinity, the Incarnation of our Saviour, the Joys of Paradise, and the Punishments of Hell, to fit their Souls for Heaven by Baptism, while their Bodies were condemned to Torments. But the *Indians*, after they had heard their Sentence, refused to hear the Jesuits speak, and began to prepare for Death in their own Country Manner, by singing their Death Song.

Some charitable Person threw a Knife into the Prison, with which one of them dispatched himself: The other was carried out to the Place of Execution by the Christian *Indians* of *Loretto*, to which he walked, seemingly, with as much Indifference as ever Martyr did to the Stake. While they were torturing him, he continued singing, that he was a Warrior brave and without Fear; that the most cruel Death could not shake his Courage; that the most cruel Torment should not draw an indecent Expression from him; that his Comrade was a Coward, a Scandal to the *Five Nations*, who had killed himself for fear of Pain; that he had the Comfort to reflect, that he had made many *Frenchmen* suffer as he did now. He fully verified his Words, for the most violent Torment could not force

force the leaſt Complaint from him, though his Executioners tried their utmoſt Skill to do it. They firſt broiled his Feet between two red hot Stones; then they put his Fingers into red hot Pipes, and though he had his Arms at Liberty, he would not pull his Fingers out; they cut his Joints, and taking hold of the Sinews, twiſted them round ſmall Bars of Iron. All this while he kept ſinging and recounting his own brave Actions againſt the *French*. At laſt they ſlead his Scalp from his Skull, and poured ſcalding hot Sand upon it; at which Time the Intendant's Lady obtained Leave of the Governor to have the *Coup-de-grace* given, and I believe ſhe thereby likewiſe obtained a Favour to every Reader, in delivering him from a further continuance of this Account of *French* Cruelty.

Notwithſtanding this Cruelty, which the *French* Governor manifeſted towards the *Five Nations*, and thereby his Hatred of them, he found Peace with them ſo neceſſary to *Canada*, that he ſtill purſued it by all the Means in his Power. For this Purpoſe the *Praying Indians* (who, as I obſerved before, are *Mohawks*, and have always kept a Correſpondence with their own Nation) were employed to bring it about, and to endeavour a Ceſſation of Arms, that the Governor might have an Opportunity of ſhewing what kind Things he had in his Heart towards the *Five Nations*, but without Succeſs.

CHAP. VIII.

The Five Nations *treat with Captain* Ingoldſby.

CHAP. VIII.

THE Governor of *New-York*, Colonel *Slaughter*'s Death, ſoon after his Arrival, was very prejudicial to the Affairs of *New-York*; for Captain *Ingoldſby*, who had no other Commiſſion but that of Captain of one of the Independent Companies of Foot,

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Foot, took upon himself the Government of the Province, without any Authority; and he having likewise highly offended a great Number of the People, by the Share he took in the late Party Quarrels, it was not easy for him to prosecute any vigorous Measures. He was reckoned to be much more a Soldier than a Statesman.

Captain *Ingoldsby* met the *Five Nations* at *Albany*, the sixth of *June* 1692. In his Speech, he told them of his vigorous Resolutions to prosecute the War, and then blamed them for not sending (according to their Promise) a Party down *Cadarackui River*, to join them that went from *Albany* against *Montreal*, and for their Carelesness in suffering themselves to be surprised last Winter in their Hunting. He desired them to keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm, by the Incursions of their Parties into the Enemy's Country, and to give him timely Notice of all their Motions. He told them in the next Place, that he heard the *French* were still using their wonted Artifice, of amusing them with Offers of Peace; but the former Proceedings of the *French* sufficiently demonstrates, said he to the Brethren, that while Peace is in their Mouths, War is in their Hearts, and the late horrid Murder of the Brethren, after Quarter given, sufficiently shews the Perfidy and Rancour of their Hearts. It is in vain, said he, to think of any Cessation of Arms, much less of a Peace, while the two Kings are at War at Home. He added, *Virginia* is ready to assist us, and only waits the King's Orders, which are daily expected, and then renewed the Chain for *Virginia*. In the last Place he told them, that he heard the *Dionondadas* had sent two Prisoners Home, with a View thereby to procure Peace; and advised them by all Means to make Peace with that Nation.

The

The *Five Nations* answered by *Cheda*, an *Oneydo Sachem*: CHAP. VIII.

" *Brother* Corlear,

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* have with great Attention heard *Corlear* speak; we shall make a short Recital, to shew you with what Care we have hearkened. After the Recital he continued.

We heartily thank *Corlear*, for his coming to this Place to view the Strength thereof, for his bringing Forces with him, and for his Resolution of putting Garisons into the Frontier Places. Giving five Bevers and a Belt.

Brother *Corlear*, as to what you blame us for, let us not reproach one another, such Words do not savour well among Friends. They gave nothing with this Article.

Brother *Corlear*, be patient under the Loss of your Men, as we are of the *Mohawks* our Brethren, that were killed at the same Time. You take no Notice of the great Losses we have suffered. We designed to have come to this Place to have condoled with you in your Los, but the War took up all our Time, and employed all Hands. They gave five Bevers, four Otters, and one Belt, as a Gift of Condolence.

Brother *Corlear*, we are all Subjects of one great King and Queen, we have one Head, one Heart, one Interest, and are all ingaged in the same War. You tell us, that we must expect no Peace while the Kings are at War on the other Side the great Water. We thank you for being so plain with us. We assure you we have no Thoughts of Peace. We are resolved to carry on the War, though we know we only are in danger of being Losers. Pray do you prosecute the War with the same Resolution. You are strong and have many People. You have a great King, who is able to hold out long.

We

CHAP. VIII.

we are but a small People, and decline daily, by the Men we lose in this War, we do our utmost to destroy the Enemy; but how strange does it seem to us! How unaccountable! that while our great King is so inveterate against the *French*, and you are so earnest with us to carry on the War, that Powder is now sold dearer to us than ever? We are poor, and not able to buy while we neglect hunting; and we cannot hunt and carry on the War at the same Time: We expect, that this Evil we so justly complain of be immediately remedied. Giving nine Bevers.

Brother *Corlear*, you desire us to keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm, that they may have no Rest, till they are in their Graves; Is it not to secure your own Frontiers? Why then not one Word of your People that are to join us? We assure you we shall continue to carry on the War into the Heart of the Enemies Country. Giving eight Bevers.

We the *Five Nations*, *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Senekas*, renew the Silver Chain whereby we are linked fast with our Brethren of *Assarigoa* (*Virginia*) and we promise to preserve it as long as the Sun shall shine in the Heavens. Giving ten Bevers.

But Brother *Corlear*, How comes it, that none of our Brethren fastened in the same Chain with us, offer their helping Hand in this general War, in which our great King is engaged against the *French*? Pray *Corlear*, how come *Maryland*, *Delaware River*, and *New-England*, to be disengaged from this War? You have always told us, that they are our Brethren, Subjects of the same great King. Has our King sold them? Or do they fail in their Obedience? Or do they draw their Arms out of our Chain? Or has the great King commanded, that the few Subjects he has in this Place, should make War against the *French* alone? Pray make plain to us this Mystery? How can they and we be Brethren, and make different Families? How can they and we be Subjects of the same

same great King, and not be engaged in the same War? How can they and we have the same Heart, the same Head, and the same Interest, as you tell us, and not have the same Thoughts? How comes it, that the Enemy burns and destroys the Towns in *New-England*, and they make no Resistance? How comes our great King to make War, and not to destroy his Enemies? When, if he would only command his Subjects on this Side the great Lake to joyn, the Destruction of the Enemy would not make one Summer's Work. CHAP. VIII.

You need not warn us of the Deceit and Treachery of the *French*, who would probably insinuate Thoughts of Peace; but Brethren, you need not fear us, we will never hearken to them: Tho' at the same Time, we must own, that we have not been without Thoughts of your being inclined to Peace, by Reason of the Brethrens Backwardness in pushing on the War. The *French* spread Reports among us to this Purpose, and say, that they had in a Manner concluded the Matter with you. We rejoice to be now assured of this Falshood. We shall never desist fighting the *French* as long as we shall live. And gave a Belt of Wampum.

We now renew the old Chain, and here plant the Tree of Prosperity and Peace. May it grow and thrive, and spread its Roots even beyond *Canada*. Giving a Belt.

We make the House clean, where all our Affairs of Importance are transacted with these five Otters.

We return you Thanks for the Powder and Lead given us; but what shall we do with them without Guns, shall we throw them at the Enemy? We doubt they will not hurt them so. Before this we always had Guns given us. It is no Wonder the Governor of *Canada* gains upon us, for he supplies his *Indians* with Guns as well as Powder; he supplies them plentifully with every Thing that can hurt us. Giving five Otters.

As

As to the *Dionondadas* ſetting two of our Nation at Liberty, we muſt tell you, that it was not the Act of that Nation, but the private Act of one Perſon: We are deſirous to make Peace with that Nation as ſoon as we can, upon honourable Terms. And gave a Belt.

The *Mohawks*, before they left the Place, deſired a private Conference with the Governor, and told him, that they were all exceedingly diſſatisfied, that the other *Engliſh* Colonies gave no Aſſiſtance, and that it might prove of ill Conſequence. Captain *Ingoldſby* promiſed to write to them, and hoped it would have a good Effect.

CHAP. IX.

The French *ſurpriſe and take three* Mohawk *Caſtles.*

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THE *Praying Indians* promiſed their Endeavours to reconcile their Brethren the *Mohawks* to the *French*, on whom the *French* expected they would have much Influence; but their Endeavours proving ineffectual, their Correſpondence began to be ſuſpected. The *French* thought they did more Hurt than Good, by the Intelligence the Enemy by their Means received. The *French* in *Canada* began to loſe their Spirits, by being obliged to remain ſo long upon the defenſive, as the *Five Nations* gained more Courage by it. The Count *de Frontenac* thought it therefore abſolutely neceſſary to undertake ſome bold Enterprize, to ſhew the *Five Nations*, that they had to do with an Enemy ſtill able to act offenſively: An Attack on the *Mohawks* he thought would be moſt effectual for this Purpoſe, becauſe it would ſhew, at the ſame Time, that

that the *Engliſh* would not protect their neareſt Neighbours. As this was deſigned to be done by Surprize, the Winter Seaſon was choſen for this Purpoſe, as leaſt to be ſuſpected at ſuch a Time; and when the Enemy could not, without great Hardſhip, keep Scouts abroad, to diſcover them or the *Engliſh* give any Aſſiſtance. CHAP. IX.

The Body of the *French* deſigned for this Expedition was put under three Captains of the regular Troops, and thirty Subalterns, and conſiſted of picked Men of the regular Troops of the common Militia of the Country of the *Praying Indians*, the *Quatoghies* of *Loretto*, *Adirondacks*, and *Sohokies*, who live to the eaſtward of *Boſton*, making in all about ſix or ſeven hundred Men, ſo that a great Part of the Force of *Canada* was employed in it. They were well ſupplied with all Sorts of Ammunition, Proviſion, Snow-Shoes, and ſuch Conveniencies for Carriage, as were practicable upon the Snow, and through ſuch great Foreſts as they had to paſs. The *French* at *Canada* have a Kind of light Sledges made with Skins, and are drawn by large Dogs on the frozen Snow.

They ſet out from *la Prairie de Magdaleine* the 15th of *January* 1692-3, after having endured what might have been thought unſurmountable Hardſhips; they paſſed by *Schenectady* at ſome Diſtance from it, on the 8th of *February*, at which Time one that had been taken Priſoner, when that Place was ſacked, made his Eſcape from them, and gave the People of *Schenectady* Intelligence of the *French*, who by an Expreſs, immediately informed the Commandant of *Albany*. The Millitia was expeditiouſly raiſed, and a Lieutenant with fifty five Horſe was immediately diſpatched to *Schenectady*; but no Care was taken to give the *Mohawks* Notice, which might have been done without much Danger, by ſending up the South Side of the River, whilſt the *French* marched on the North. The *French*, on the

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the 8th at Night, reached the first *Mohawk* Castle, where there were only five Men, and some Women and Children in great Security, their other Men being all abroad, these were all taken without Opposition. The next Fort not far from it was in like Manner surprized, without any Opposition, both of them were very small, and being next the *English*, not fortified.

Schenectady being the neareſt *English* Settlement to the *Mohawks*, and but a little Way from their neareſt Caſtle, many of them are always there. The *Mohawks* then in the Town were exceedingly enraged, that none went out to aſſiſt their Nation; ſome were ſent therefore out the next Day, to gain Information of the Enemy, and to give the *Mohawks* Notice; but they returned without doing their Duty.

The *French* went on to the next *Mohawk* Fort, which was the largeſt; and coming to that in the Night, they heard ſome Noiſe, and ſuſpected they were diſcovered: But this Noiſe was only occaſioned by a War Dance, forty of the *Indians* deſigning to go next Day upon ſome Enterprize. The *French* approached the Caſtle ſilently, and finding the *Indians* no way on their Guard, opened the Gate, and entered before they were diſcovered; but notwithſtanding this, and the Confuſion the *Indians* muſt be in, this Conqueſt was not without Loſs of Blood, the *French* having loſt thirty Men, before the *Indians* entirely ſubmitted: The *French* deſigned to have put them all to the Sword, but their own *Indians* would not ſuffer it, and gave Quarter: They took three hundred Priſoners, of whom one hundred were fighting Men. I have no Account of the Number of *Mohawks* killed, but no Doubt it was very conſiderable.

When the Account came to *Albany*, how much the *Mohawks*, who were at *Schenectady*, were enraged, that no Aſſiſtance was ſent to their Countrymen;

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Peter Schuyler a Major of the Militia offered himſelf to go with what Force could be got ready for their Aſſiſtance. He went himſelf immediately to *Schenectady*, and ſent out to diſcover the Enemy: His Scouts brought him Intelligence, firſt, that the *French* were in Poſſeſſion of the two ſmalleſt Forts, afterwards, that they had heard great Firing at the largeſt Fort; and at laſt, that it was taken. Having received 200 Men, partly regular Troops, but moſt of the Militia, he began his March on the 12th in Queſt of the Enemy; but hearing ſoon after, that ſix hundred Men of the upper Caſtles were on their March, 'tis probable he did not endeavour to be up with the *French* ſo ſoon as he might; for I find by his Journal, that he was nearer them on the fourteenth, than he was two Days after. He had not ſufficient Force to fight them: He ſent therefore to the upper *Indians*, to haſten their March. On the 15th he was joined by theſe *Indians*, in all two hundred and ninety Men and Boys, very ill armed. His Body then conſiſted of two hundred and fifty Chriſtians, and two hundred and ninety *Indians*, armed fighting Men. They had no other Proviſion but ſome Biſcuit every Man had in his Pocket. On the 16th he was informed by an *Indian*, who pretended to be a Deſerter, that the *French* had built a Fort, where they deſigned to wait for him, and fight him; whereupon he ſent an Expreſs to Coll. *Ingoldeſly*, then Commandant at *Albany*, to haſten more Men to join him, with ſufficient Proviſion for the whole. He found afterwards, that this *Indian* was ſent by the *French*, on purpoſe to perſuade the *Indians* to give over the Purſuit. Major *Schuyler* came up to the Enemy on the 17th; when he came near them he did not go on ſtreight towards them, for Fear of Ambuſcades, but marched round. As ſoon as he came in Sight, he was ſaluted with three loud Shouts, which were anſwered with as much Noiſe. The Indians began in their Manner to ſe-

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cure themſelves, by felling the Trees between them, and the Enemy ſallied out to prevent them, but were ſoon beat back. The *Indians* fell to Work again, and deſired the Chriſtians to aſſiſt them, which was done, but in ſuch Confuſion, that they themſelves were in Danger from the falling Trees. The *French* ſallied a ſecond Time with all their Force, crying out, *They run, we'll cut them off, and get their Proviſions*; but they were warmly received, and beat back into their Fort. They ſallied a third Time, and were beat back with conſiderable Loſs, the *Indians* bringing in ſeveral Heads and Scalps. As ſoon as the Skirmiſhing was over, the Major ſent back an Expreſs, to haſten the Men that were to reinforce him, and were to bring Proviſion, ſome of the Men having had no Proviſion for two Days. The *Major* then ſecured himſelf, under the Cover of the fallen Trees, and kept out Watches to obſerve the *French*.

The 18th proving a cold ſtormy Day, with Snow, he was informed, by a Deſerter, that the *French* were upon their March, it not being eaſy to follow their Tracks, or to diſcover them in ſuch Weather. The Officers were commanded to purſue and retard their March, till the Reinforcement ſhould come up, but the Men refuſed to march without Proviſion. The Officers, with about 60 Men, and a Body of *Indians*, followed the Enemy till Night, when they began to ſecure themſelves, by fortifying their Camp. The Officers wanting a ſufficient Number to ſecure themſelves in like Manner, or to fight the Enemy, returned, leaving about forty Chriſtians, and one hundred *Indians*, to obſerve them. On the 19th the Proviſions, with about 80 Men, arrived, under the Command of Captain *Sims* of the regular Troops. Every Man, as he was ſerved with Proviſion, marched towards the Enemy. The Van was commanded by Captain *Peter Matthews* of the regular Troops, who coming

up

up with the Enemy's Rear, would have attacked them, to retard their March, but the *Mohawks* were averſe to fighting. The *French* dropt on purpoſe ſeveral of their Priſoners, who told the *Mohawks*, that the *French* were reſolved to put all the Priſoners to the Sword, if they ſhould be attacked. The Enemy paſſed the North Branch of *Hudſon*'s River upon a Cake of Ice, which, very opportunely for them, ſtuck there in one Place, while it was open by a late Thaw, both above and below. The Weather continuing very cold, and the *Indians* averſe to fighting, Major *Schuyler* gave over the Purſuit on the 20th, having loſt only four private Men, and as many *Indians*, two Officers and twelve Men Chriſtians and *Indians* were wounded. The *French* loſt thirty three Men (the Bodies of twenty ſeven were found) of whom four were Officers, and twenty-ſix wounded, as the Deſerters told him. Between forty and fifty Priſoners were recovered. I have been told, that Captain *Matthews* deſired Coll. *Schuyler*, when he came firſt up with the *French*, to ſummon them to ſurrender; he ſaid, the *French* are in great Diſtreſs, and this will give them an Opinion of our Strength; but Coll. *Schuyler* refuſed, tho' he was brave, he was no Soldier; and it is very probable, that the *French* obſerving the want of Conduct and Diſcipline, were encouraged. It is true, the *Engliſh* were in great Want of Proviſions at that Time. The *Indians* eat the Bodies of the *French* that they found. Coll. *Schuyler* (as he told me himſelf) going among the *Indians* at that Time, was invited to eat Broth with them, which ſome of them had ready boiled, which he did, till they, putting the Ladle into the Kettle to take out more, brought out a *French* Man's Hand, which put an End to his Appetite.

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The *French* went home as faſt as they could carry their wounded Men with them; but coming to a Place, where they had hid Proviſions for their Sup-

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ply in their return, they found it all ſpoiled. This put them in great Diſtreſs, ſo that they were forced to eat their Shoes; they ſent ſome of the nimbleſt Men forward to *Montreal*, that Proviſion might meet them. As ſoon as they came near the Settlements they diſperſed, every Man running home to eat, ſo that they returned to *Canada* like an Army routed. The *French* own they loſt eighty Men, and had thirty three wounded in this Expedition.

One may wonder how it is poſſible for Men to march ſeveral hundred Miles in the Wilderneſs, while the Ground is every where covered with Snow, two or three Feet deep at leaſt; but the foremoſt march on Snow Shoes, which beat a firm Track for thoſe that follow. At Night, when they reſt, they dig a Hole in the Snow, throwing the Snow up all round, but higheſt towards that Side from whence the Wind blows, ſo large, as to contain as many Men as can lye round a Fire: They make the Fire in the Middle, and cover the frozen Ground round it with the ſmall Branches of the Fir-Trees. Thus they tell me a Man lyes much warmer, than one imagines that never tried it.

When the Information of the *French* came to *Schenectady*, an Expreſs was ſent to *New-York* to Coll. *Fletcher* then Governor there; the Expreſs reached *New-York*, an hundred and fifty Miles from *Albany*, the 12th at ten in the Night. The Governor got the City Regiment under Arms by eight the next Morning,

He called out to know who were willing to go with him to the Frontiers, they all immediately threw up their Hats, and anſwered one and all. Indeed the People of this Province have, upon all Occaſions, ſhewn their Courage and Reſolution in Defence of their Country; but the Misfortune is, they are under no Diſcipline, and have been ſeldom led by Men that knew their Duty. The Governor or-

der-

dered an hundred and fifty Voluntiers for this Service, and as many more from *Long-Island*. The River then happened to be open by a ſudden Thaw, which does not, at that Time of the Year, happen once in twenty Years. He embarked three hundred Men in five Sloops, by four in the Afternoon of the 14th, and arrived at *Albany* the 17th at nine in the Morning. The ſame Day the Governor went to *Schenectady*, and ordered the Men to follow, but before they could get every Thing ready for their March into the Woods, they had an Account, that Major *Schuyler* was upon his Return. Several Gentlemen of *Albany*, particularly Mr. *Lanſlear*, a Gentleman of the beſt Eſtate there, went out Voluntiers under Major *Schuyler*, which I ought not to have forgot. CHAP. IX.

Coll. *Fletcher* made a Speech to the *Mohawks* at *Albany*, he blamed their ſupine Negligence, in ſuffering themſelves to be ſurpriſed in the Manner they were in Time of War. He told them that they had Reaſon to be convinced, that the *Engliſh* were their Friends heartily, by the Number of Men he had marched to their Aſſiſtance in a very little Time, upon the firſt Notice. He promiſed to wipe away their Tears in the Spring, by conſiderable Preſents; and that he would, in the mean while, take Care of their Subſiſtence, by providing Houſes and Victuals for them. He told them, he doubted they had ſome falſe Brethren among them, that gave the *French* Information, and favoured their Deſigns; and in the laſt Place, adviſed them to convince the *French*, that they had not loſt their Courage with this Misfortune.

The *Mohawks*, in their Anſwer, called Coll. *Fletcher* by the Name of *Cayenguirago*; and he was called ſo by the *Indians* always after this. It ſignifies *a great ſwift Arrow*, as an Acknowledgement of the Speed he made to their Aſſiſtance. But they appeared, in their Anſwer, to be quite diſheartned; they had not, in the Memory of any Man, re-

ceived such a Blow. They said their Strength was quite broke, by the Continuance of the War; but they added, if all the *English* Colonies would join, they could still easily take *Canada*: Their being so ill armed, was the Reason (they said) that the *French* had now escaped.

The *French*, continued they, arm their *Indians* compleatly, and furnish them with every Thing necessary for War, as we find every Time we meet with them.

The *French* had got a great Quantity of Furs, and other Peltry, at *Missilimakinak*, by their Trade with the *Indians*; but the *Five Nations* had so effectually blocked up the Passage between that and *Canada*, that they had remained there useless to the *French* for several Years. The Count *de Frontenac*, after his Success against the *Mohawks*, was in Hopes the *Five Nations* would keep more at home in Defence of their own Castles, and with these Hopes sent a Lieutenant, with eighteen *Canadians*, and twenty *praying Indians*, to open the Passage to *Missilimakinak*; but this Party fell in with another of the *Five Nations*, who entirely routed them, so that a few escaped only, to give an Account of their Misfortune; at last 200 Canoes, loaded with Furs from *Missilimakinak*, arrived at *Montreal*, which gave as universal a Joy to *Canada*, as the Arrival of the *Galleons* give in *Spain*.

CHAP. X.

The Treaties and Negotiations the Five Nations *had with the* English *and* French, *in the Years* 1693 *and* 1694.

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AS by this Time the Reader may be tired with the horrid Scenes of a barbarous War, it may be some Relief to observe the *Indian* Genius in the Arts of negotiating; and see how a barbarous People, without

out any of the Arts and Sciences in which we value our ſelves, manage their Intereſt with the moſt learned, moſt polite, and artificial Nation in *Europe*. The *Five Nations* were informed, that the Governor of *Canada* had received from *Europe* a very conſiderable Recruit of Soldiers, and of all Sorts of Ammunition. This, with the great Loſs the *Mohawks* had lately ſuffered, while they had been amuſed by the *Engliſh* with great Hopes, and very little real Aſſiſtance, made the *Oneydoes*, at laſt yield to the Solicitations of the Jeſuit *Milet*, to ſend a Meſſage to the *French* for Peace. It is probable he had the Art to influence the People at *Albany* to favour his Deſigns, by giving them Hopes of being included in the Peace, as may be conjectured, from what will appear in the Sequel. CHAP. IX.

Coll. *Fletcher* being informed, that the *Oneydoes* had ſent a Meſſenger to *Canada*, ſent for the *Five Nations* to *Albany*. He ſpoke to them the third of *July* 1693.

He firſt excuſed his not meeting them as he had promiſed, at the Time the Sap begins to run in the Trees, by Reaſon of his having received a Commiſſion to be Governor of *Penſilvania*, to which Place he was obliged at that Time to go. He put them in Mind with what Speed he came to their Aſſiſtance laſt Winter, and how effectual, in all Probability, it would have been, had they only retarded the Enemy's March till he could have reached them: He adviſed them to guard againſt being drunk, and ſhewed them the ill Conſequences of it in Time of War.

Then he ſaid, "I have received Information, "that ſome of the Brethren are wavering, and "inclined to Peace with the Enemy; and am aſ- "ſured, that ſuch Thoughts muſt ariſe from the "Inſtigation of the Jeſuit *Milet*, whom ſome of "the Brethren have ſuffered to live ſo long among "them, and whoſe only Practice is to delude and

CHAP. X. "betray them. Let me therefore adviſe you to "remove that ill Perſon from among you."

In the End he condoled their Dead, and made them a very conſiderable Preſent of ninety Guns, eight hundred and ten Pound of Powder, eight hundred Bars of Lead, a Thouſand Flints, eighty ſeven Hatchets, four Groſs of Knives, beſides a conſiderable Quantity of Cloathing and Proviſions. This Preſent, he told them, their King and Queen had ſent them, and renewed the Covenant for all the *Engliſh* Colonies.

The King uſually ſends them a conſiderable Preſent with every new Governor ſent to *New-York*, which is not always applied as it is deſigned. If this Preſent had been made ſooner, it had been of much more Uſe to the *Engliſh*, as well as to the *Five Nations*.

The *Five Nations* the next Day ſpoke as follows.

Brother *Cayenguirago*,

"We are involved in a bloody War, which "makes us ſit in Sorrow and Grief; and being "about to ſpeak of Matters of Importance, we, in "the firſt Place, clear the Mouth and Throat of "our Interpreteſs, by giving her theſe three Bever "Skins.

Then they repeated his Excellency's Speech, in Anſwer to which they ſaid,

"Brother *Cayenguirago*, we rejoice, that the "great King and Queen of *England* take ſuch "Notice of us, as we find, by the large Preſent "ſent us; we return hearty Thanks for the Am-"munition eſpecially.

"We are glad that our Brother *Cayenguirago* "renews the Chain, not only between us and this "Government, but likewiſe with *New-England*, "*Virginia*, *Maryland* and *Penſilvania*; it ſhall be "kept inviolable by us the *Five Nations*, as long "as the Sun ſhines. We pray our Brother *Cayen-*

guirago

" *guirago* to have a watchful Eye, that none " of the other Colonies keep any Correſpondence " with the Enemy, but uſe their Endeavours to de- " ſtroy them. We heard nothing of what you " told us of the Prieſt *Milet*, who lives at *Oneydo*, " till we came to this Town. We have enquired " the Truth of our Brethren the *Oneydoes*, who con- " feſs, that the Prieſt ſent an *Indian* to *Canada* with " Letters, which has ſurpriſed us very much.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, you are our great Tree, " whoſe Roots extend to the utmoſt Bounds of this " Government; we deſire you may not be diſturbed " when any of our Priſoners miſbehave, for they " are not countenanced by us; and all proper Me- " thods ſhall be taken, to prevent the like for the " future. In like Manner we beg you to take " Care, that none of the Priſoners you have cor- " reſpond with the Enemy, as we ſuſpect the " Chevalier *D' O.* did; and that he was ſent " with Letters to *Canada* by ſome of our Brethren. " (He made his Eſcape from *Boſton.*)

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, In former Times our " Propoſitions to one another were only Diſcourſes " of Peace and Friendſhip, and in giving Preſents; " but how much is the Caſe altered of late? Now " we talk of nothing but War, and are continually " prompting one another to it. As to our Parts, " we will keep cloſe to the War to the laſt Drop " of our Blood; and tho' we be toſſed to and fro " with Storms, we will remain ſtedfaſt to the laſt " Man, as it was reſolved by both in the Begin- " ning of the War.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, we were told in our own " Country, not only that the King had made you " Governor of *Penſilvania*, but likewiſe that you " were preparing a Fleet to take *Canada*. O! what " joyful News this was to our young Men. *Sadaga-* " *rus*, the great *Seneka* Captain, was to command " them. Now they ſaid, we need only make one

" hearty

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" hearty Push, while the Fleet is before *Quebeck*.
" Now there will be an End to this bloody War,
" and all our Troubles; But alas, now we are come
" here, we hear not one Word of this Design.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, you are that flourishing
" Tree that covers us; you keep the Chain bright;
" we have one Request to make to you, that you
" may stay with us, and not return to *England*; for
" you know our Ways and Manners. If you have
" any Thing to tell the King and Queen, write it to
" them, for the King knows you to be a wise Man,
" and will therefore believe you.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, we are very glad to hear
" that *Pensilvania* is come under your Government,
" bring their young Men here, with their Bows and
" Arrows and Hatchets in their Hands, for this
" is the Place of Action. We are pleased that
" the *Showonons* or *Satanas*, who are our Enemies,
" have applied to you for Protection; and that you
" sent them to us to endeavour a Peace, and that
" you sent Christians with them, to conduct them
" back again. We wish they were come to assist us
" against the common Enemy.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, now we have done, but
" must tell you again, that we roll and wallow
" in Joy, by Reason of the great Favour the great
" King and Queen has done us, in sending us Arms
" and Ammunition, at a Time when we are in the
" greatest Need of them; and because there is such
" Unity among the Brethren."

They made the Governor a considerable Present of Furs, to shew their Respect to his Person; but they did not give one Belt to confirm any one Article; so that the whole of it is, according to their Stile, only argumentative.

Coll. *Fletcher* not being satisfied with their Answer, concerning the Jesuit *Milet*, made this further Proposal to them. " As to *Milet* the Priest, whom
" the Brethren of *Oneydo* still harbour among them,

" I

" I must tell you again, that he betrays you, and CHAP. " all your Councils; and that you may see I desire X. " not to diminish your Number, I am willing to " give you a pretty *Indian* Boy, in Lieu of the " old Priest; and accordingly the Boy was brought " and delivered to them.

In answer to this the *Oneydo Sachem* said, " As " soon as the *Indian* Messenger returns all his Papers " shall be taken from him, and be forthwith " brought to our Brother *Cayenguirago*, before the " Priest shall see any of them: we are willing to " take the Boy in Exchange for the Priest, but it is " not safe to do it, while our Messenger is in the " Power of the Enemy; let the Boy stay here till " we bring the Priest, which shall be as soon as the " Messenger shall return ". But he gave no Belt, or other Present, to confirm this Promise. He added,

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, we now acquaint you " that it is proposed by all the *Five Nations*, to " make Peace with the *Dionondadies*, a Nation of " *Indians* near in Alliance with the *French* of *Cana-* " *da*. This will both strengthen us and weaken the " Enemy. The *Senekas*, who live neareſt them, " have undertaken this Treaty, and take Belts of " Wampum from the other Nations, to confirm " the Peace. We desire your Approbation, that " you would send your Belt in Concurrence, as our " eldest Brother in our Chain. "

The Governor approved of this, and gave them a Belt to carry in his Name.

Notwithstanding what the Speaker of the *Five Nations* had promised to the Governor, to bring all the Papers the *Oneydo* Messenger should bring from *Canada*, before the Jesuit *Milet* should have Liberty to see them, it could not be difficult for the Jesuit, to persuade them to keep the Power of making Peace in their own Hands, and for that Purpose, to call a Meeting of the *Sachems* of *Onon-*

dago,

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dago, where all such Matters had been formerly transacted among themselves, and there to determine independently, rather than to submit themselves to another Nation at *Albany*. They only invited the *English* to assist at the general Council. The *English* used what Arguments they could to dissuade this Meeting, but rather to observe the Promise made to the Governor; and it seems used some Threatning. The *Mohawks* had so much Regard to the *English*, that they refused to assist at the Council. The other four, notwithstanding this, met, and resolved on an Answer to be sent to the Governor of *Canada*; but at the same Time, to shew their Regard to the *Mohawks* and *English*, these Resolutions were not to be final, till they should first be communicated to the *English* and *Mohawks*, and their Advice received thereon; for which Purpose several *Sachems* were sent to *Albany*, of whom *Decanesora* was the Principal and the Speaker.

Decanesora had for many Years the greatest Reputation among the *Five Nations* for speaking, and was generally employed as their Speaker, in their Negotiations with both *French* and *English*: He was grown old when I saw him, and heard him speak; he had a great Fluency in speaking, and a graceful Elocution, that would have pleased in any Part of the World. His Person was tall and well made, and his Features, to my thinking, resembled much the Bustos of *Cicero*. I shall give an Account of these Negotiations from *Decanesora*'s Mouth, because his Narration agrees in the main with the Account the *French* give of them, and carries along with it as strong Evidences of Truth, as that of the *French* do: but the chief Reason is, that I intend to give the Reader as perfect a Notion as I can of the *Indian* Genius; and here it will appear, what Art *Decanesora* had, to make an Account of an Affair less disagreeable to *English* Ears, which had been undertaken

taken againſt their Advice, and contrary to their In- CHAP. X.
tereſt.

Decaneſora ſpoke to Major *Schuyler* (*Quider*) and the Magiſtrates of *Albany*, the ſecond of *February* 1693-4 as follows.

" Brother *Cayenguirago* *, we are come to acquaint " you, that our Children the *Oneydoes* having of " themſelves ſent a Meſſenger to *Canada*, he has " brought back with him a Belt of Peace from the " Governor of *Canada*.

" As ſoon as *Tariha* (the Meſſenger) arrived at " *Canada*, he was aſked, where the ſix hundred " Men were that were to attack *Canada*, as they " had been informed by *Cariokeſe* a *Mohawk* De- " ſerter? He aſſured them there was no ſuch De- " ſign.

" He was carried to *Quebeck*, where he delivered " his Belt, with the following Propoſitions. *Onondio*, " if you would have Peace go to *Albany*, and aſk " it there, for the *Five Nations* will do nothing " without *Cayenguirago*. The Governor of *Canada* " was angry at this, and ſaid, he had nothing to do " with the Governor of *New-York*, he would treat " only with the *Five Nations*; the Peace between " the Chriſtians muſt be made on the other Side " the great Lake. He added, he was ſorry to ſee " the *Five Nations* ſo far degenerated, as to take a " ſixth Nation into their Chain, to rule over them. " If you had deſired me to come and treat in any " of your Caſtles, I would have done it; but to tell " me I muſt go to *Albany*, is to deſire of me what " I can by no Means do. You have done very ill, " to ſuffer the People of *New-York* to govern you " ſo far, that you dare do nothing without their " Conſent. I adviſe you to ſend two of each Na- " tion to me, and let *Decaneſora* be one of them.

* When the Affair of which they ſpeak concerns the Government of *New-York*, the *Indians* always addreſs themſelves to the Governor, whether he be preſent or not.

CHAP. X.

" I have Orders from the King my Maſter to grant " you Peace, if you come in your proper Perſons " to ask it. The Governor of *Canada* afterwards " ſaid,

" Children of the *Five Nations*, I have Compaſ- " ſion for your little Children, therefore come " ſpeedily, and ſpeak of Peace to me, otherwiſe " I'll ſtop my Ears for the future: By all Means let " *Decaneſora* come; for if the *Mohawks* come alone, " I will not hear them, ſome of all the *Five Nations* " muſt come. Now *Tariha* return home, and tell " the *Five Nations*, that I will wait for their coming " till the Trees bud, and the Bark can be parted " from the Trees. I deſign for *France* in the " Spring, and I leave a Gentleman to command here, " to whom I have given Orders to raiſe Soldiers, if " you do not come in that Time, and then what " will become of you? I am truly grieved to ſee " the *Five Nations* ſo debauched and deceived by " *Cayenguirago*, who is lately come to *New-York*, " and by *Quider*. Formerly the chief Men of the " *Five Nations* uſed to converſe with me; but this " Governor of *New-York* has ſo deluded you, that " you hearken to none but him; but take Care " of what will follow, if you hearken to none but " him."

Then *Decaneſora* excuſed the not ſending the Letters to *Albany*, which came by *Tariha*, as they had promiſed, ſaying, the other Nations truſted this to the *Oneydoes*, becauſe the Meſſenger was to return to them, and the *Oneydoes* deceived the others. He likewiſe excuſed their not coming to *Albany* as ſoon as *Tariha* returned, which was in *November*. He ſaid the chief *Sachem* of the *Onondagas*, who was entruſted (as their Speaker) by the *Five Nations* with their general Affairs, by the general Council of *Onondaga*, had a ſore Leg, and could not travel *.

* This, in the *Indian* Idiom, ſignifies a trifling Excuſe of an unwilling Perſon.

That

That in such Case he (*Decanesora*) did all that was in his Power, that is, he called a Council at *Onondaga*, to give Directions in this Affair; and that he invited *Quider* to this Council. He continued, CHAP. X.

"The four Nations that met there resolved to "send Deputies to *Canada*, and that I *Decanesora* was "to be one of them; but at the same Time ordered "me, with some others, to communicate the Re- "solutions of the General Council to our Brethren "at *Albany*, and to the *Mohawks*, to be farther "advised by them.

"The Resolutions are, to send three Belts to "the Governor of *Canada*, with the following Pro- "positions.

"I. *Onondio*, you have sent for me often, and "as often asked, why I am afraid to come? The "great Kettle of War that you have hung over the "Fire is the Reason of it. Then laying down the "first Belt, I am to ask his Consent to the other "two Belts which I still keep in my Hand.

"II. We now not only throw down the Kettle, "and thereby throw the boiling Water out of it, but "likewise break it to Pieces, that it may never be "hanged up again by this second Belt.

"III. Hearken, *Onondio*, you are sent from the "*French* King, your Master, as *Cayenguirago* is "from the great King and Queen of *England*. "What I am now about to speak to you, is by In "spiration from the great God of Heaven. You say "that you will have nothing to do with our Bre- "thren of *Cayenguirago*, but I must tell you, that "we are inseparable, we can have no Peace with "you so long as you are at War with them; we "must stand and fall with them; which I am to "confirm, by laying down the third Belt.

"When this was concluded the Jesuit *Milet*, "and another *French* Gentleman (who had been

"taken

CHAP. X. "taken Priſoner, and was taken into the Place of "the chief *Sachem of Onondaga*, formerly loſt in "the War, and thereby became a *Sachem*) de- "ſired Leave to add two Belts to the other three. "By their being *Sachems* they had a Vote in the "General Council, and a Right to propoſe any "Thing. They wrote and read to us the Pur- "ports of their Belts, and we have brought their "Papers with us, to ſhew to our Brethren."

To ſhew the Neceſſity they were under of making Peace, ſpeedily he added:

"That two Women, who were Priſoners at *Ca-* "*nada*, had made their Eſcape, on Purpoſe to in- "form them that the *French* were making great "Preparations of Battoes, and other Neceſſaries for "an Expedition; one ſaid, ſhe had informed one of "the *Sachems* of the *Praying Indians* of her Deſign, "who ſent an *Indian* with her to adviſe the *Five Na-* "*tions*, to prevent the great Danger they were "threatened with by a ſpeedy Concluſion of the Peace; "and added, that they had ſent one of their People "back with this *Praying Indian*, to aſſure them that "Deputies would certainly go to *Canada* in the "Spring to treat of Peace." I make no Doubt, this was only an Article to haſten the *Five Nations* to conclude the Peace, leſt the *Engliſh*, if it were delayed, ſhould find Means to prevent it. Then he ſhewed the Flag which the Governor of *Canada* ſent them to be carried by their Deputies, that the *French* might know them. Upon theſe Reſolutions being taken, the *Five Nations* recalled ſix hundred Men, that they had placed along *Cadarackui River*, to intercept the *French*, as they paſſed to and from *Miſſilimakinak*.

The Jeſuit's Papers being read to them, ſeveral Things were found in them which he had not read to the General Council. To this *Decaneſora* anſwered; "We know that the Prieſt favours his "own Nation, and deceives us in many Things; "but

" but it is not in his Power to alter our Affection " to our Brethren, we wiſh you would bury all " Miſunderſtandings that you have conceived on " his Account; and we likewiſe wiſh you gave " leſs Credit to the Rum-Carriers than you do." Here we ſee, by this Appellation, what a contemptible Character the Traders have among the *Indians*, and yet the Government of *New-York* has almoſt perpetually truſted the Management of the *Indian* Affairs to theſe Traders. CHAP. X.

Decaneſora ended his Conference as follows: " The Governor of *Canada*'s Words, and the Reſolutions of the four Nations are now before you, " conſult therefore what is to be done, and if it be " neceſſary for the Brethren to go to our Caſtles to " adviſe us farther, be not unwilling; and then he " laid down a large Belt eleven Rows deep, and ſeven Fathom of Wampum."

The next Day Major *Schuyler* told them that he could conſent to no Treaty with the *French*; but propoſed to them to meet the Governor here in ſeventy Days, and that *Decaneſora* in particular ſhould return at that Time, and gave a Belt.

They agreed to meet the Governor at that Time; " But as for myſelf (ſays *Decaneſora*) I cannot promiſe; I am now the Miniſter of the General " Council, and cannot diſpoſe of myſelf, but by " their Directions; if they order me, I ſhall willingly return. We did not expect to hear ſuch " poſitive Prohibition of keeping any Correſpondence with the *French*; ſeventy Days muſt paſs " before we meet again, if any Miſchief be done " by the Enemy in that Time, let us not blame " one another. Conſider again what is moſt for the " publick Good, and let it be ſpoken before we " part, and laid down a large Belt of fourteen " deep."

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Major *Schuyler* then asked them again, whether they promised to stop all Correspondence with the *French*, either by the Jesuit or otherwise, for seventy Days, and till they shall have his Excellency the Governor's Answer.

Decanesora answered to this, "I have no Authority to answer this Question. I shall lay the Belt "down in every one of the Castles, and tell, that "by it all Correspondence is desired to stop with "the *French*; but I cannot promise that this will "be complied with."

Major *Schuyler* on the sixth called the *Indians* again together: He advised them not to submit to, nor trust such a perfidious Nation as the *French* are, who have upon all Occasions proved themselves such. Be not discouraged, (says he, giving a Belt) Heaven begins again to favour us. This Day the Forerunners of the *Shawonons* are come to Town, seven Nations are on their March following them, one Thousand in Number, including Men, Women and Children, as you may learn from their own Mouths. Take Courage, and be not afraid, giving five Fathom of Wampum. This seemed a lucky Incident, and accordingly it had more Influence than all other Arguments together.

Decanesora, the next Day, called the Magistrates together, and told them, you have at last shut up the Way to *Canada*, but we have one Thing to ask, after mature Deliberation, which we expect will not be refused us. Major *Schuyler* assured them that every Thing should be granted, which was either for their Safety or Honour. We desire then, said he, that you send a Messenger along with ours to the *Praying Indians* at *Canada*, to tell them that the Priest is false; that we are to meet *Cayenguirago* in the Spring, and therefore cannot go to *Canada* at that Time; and that a further Cessation of Arms be agreed to, till such Time as

we

we can go. We desire at least, that if you will not send a Messenger, that you put the Message in Writing, as a Token of your Assent to it. This last was agreed to, and the Message was put in Writing in the following Words, and translated into *French*.

The Dispatch of three Belts, which two Messengers of the *Five Nations* carry to the *Caraguists* and Catholick *Indians*, according to what was resolved by the *Agayandres* or *Sachems* of the *Five Nations*, at *Albany*, *February* the ninth 1694.

First Belt.

The *Agayandres* of the *Five Nations* cannot go to *Canada* in the Spring, as they gave Reason to expect by the last Message from *Onondaga*, because *Cayenguirago* has called all the *Five Nations*, and other *Indians*, to meet him at *Albany*, in the Month of *April* next, to which the *Five Nations* have agreed.

Second Belt.

If the *Caraguists*, or *French*, have any Thing to propose to the *Five Nations*, they may safely come into our Country. This Belt opens the Path, and secures it to them both coming and going.

Third Belt.

The *Five Nations*, and their Friends, lay down the Hatchet till they shall have an Answer, which they expect in forty Days. Provided nevertheless, that the *Caraguists* and *French* tye their Hatchets down at the same Time.

These Belts were accordingly presented to the *Praying Indians* of *Cahnuaga*, who refused to receive them but in the Presence of Mr. *de Callieres*,

CHAP. X. Governor of *Montreal*. Mr. *de Callieres* acquainted the Count *de Frontenac* with the Contents. After which the *Praying Indians*, in Preſence of Mr. *de Callieres*, gave the following Anſwer.

" We will have no Correſpondence with the " *Five Nations*, but by Order of the Governor of " *Canada* our Father, and unleſs *Decaneſora*, and " the other Deputies, come before the Feaſt of " St. *John*, the Way will be ſhut up for ever after, " and our Father's Ears will be ſtopt. We how- " ever aſſure you, that if the Deputies come in " that Time the Path ſhall be ſafe both coming " and going."

Whether the Accounts given of the coming of the *Shawonons* was only an Amuſement, or whether they were diverted on their March, I know not, for I find no farther Account of them in the Regiſter of the *Indian* Affairs: However it was, the Impreſſion, made on the *Indians* by that News, was not ſufficient to withſtand the Force of the reſolute Anſwer their Meſſenger received from the *Praying Indians*. *Decaneſora* and the other Deputies went early in the Spring to *Canada*; the other *Sachems* met Colonel *Fletcher* at *Albany*, the fourth of *May* 1694. The *Indians* ſpoke firſt by *Sadakanahtie*, an *Onondaga Sachem*, as follows:

" *Brother* Cayenguirago,

" Some of our *Sachems* agreed laſt Winter that " we ſhould keep no Correſpondence with the " *French*; we confeſs that we have broke that Pro- " miſe, and that we have received a Meſſenger " from *Canada*, and have ſent our Deputies like- " wiſe thither. The Belt is not yet arrived, by " which we are to acknowledge our Fault in doing

" this. The Reaſon of our doing it is truly this, CHAP.
" we are afraid of the Enemy. X.

" When a Meſſenger came laſt Year from *Canada*
" to *Onondaga*, our Brother *Cayenguirago* diſcharged
" our Meeting in General Council at *Onondaga*, to
" conſult on that Meſſage, and ordered us to hold
" our General Council here at *Albany* on that Af-
" fair. The Privilege of meeting in General Coun-
" cil, when we pleaſe, is a Privilege we always
" have enjoyed; no former Governor, of the Name
" of *Corlear*, ever obſtructed this Privilege. We
" planted a Tree of Peace in this Place with them,
" its Roots and Branches extend as far as *Virginia*
" and *New-England*, and we have repoſed with
" Pleaſure under its Shade. Brother, let us keep
" to that firſt Tree, and let us be united and u-
" nanimous; ſuch Prohibition of our Aſſemblies
" will be of ill Conſequence, and occaſion Diffe-
" rences between us.

" We acknowledge, I ſay, our ſending Agents
" to *Canada* for Peace, we were incouraged in do-
" ing this, by the Knowledge we have of the Go-
" vernor of *Canada*. He is an old Man, and was
" formerly Governor of that Place. He was always
" eſteemed a wiſe peaceable Man, and therefore
" we truſt our Meſſage will have a good Iſſue. We
" did not take it amiſs that you ſent to the *Dewa-*
" *gunhas*, nor that *Arnout* was ſent to the *Sata-*
" *nas*, both of them our Enemies; and, for the
" ſame Reaſon, our Brother *Cayenguirago* ought
" not to be diſpleaſed with our ſending to the *French*
" for Peace.

" We, *Onondagas*, acknowledge ourſelves to
" have been the chief Promoters of this Meſſage,
" we have ſent in all nine *Sachems* with nine Belts.
" It is true we are now under much Uneaſineſs in
" having truſted ſo many *Sachems* in the *French*

CHAP. X. "Hands, being almoſt half the Number we have "in our Nation, but we were in haſte to prevent "the Deſigns the *French* had againſt our Countries "and yours, by the great warlike Preparations they "were making in *Canada*."

Then he told all the Orders and Directions which their Ambaſſadors had received; which agreeing with the Account which *Decanaſora* gave of his Negotiation, I ſhall here paſs over. He finiſhed all by giving a Belt.

Colonel *Fletcher* told them, he would give no Anſwer to what they had ſaid, before they diſcovered to him what Reaſon they had to ſay, that he had forbid their holding any Aſſembly at *Onondaga*, and that he had made Peace with the *Dewagunhas* and *Satanas*, without their Conſent and Concurrence.

To this the Speaker the next Day anſwered; "I "was ſick, and abſent when the Affairs you men- "tion were tranſacted, and I was at a Loſs how to "excuſe our ſending to the *French* contrary to your "Advice; but ſeveral *Sachems* being arrived ſince "I ſpoke, I have been better informed by them, "who were preſent at thoſe Tranſactions. We find "it, in every Circumſtance, as our Brother *Cayen-* "*guirago* ſays; that you did not obſtruct our keep- "ing General Councils at *Onondaga*, but only cau- "tioned us in hearkening to the Fallacies of the "*French*, and in holding Meetings on that Occa- "ſion. We aſſure you we will never ſeparate from "you, we ſtill have one Head, one Blood, one Soul, "and one Heart with you; and as a Confirmation "of this I give this Belt ſeven deep.

"As to the *Dewagunhas* and *Shawonons*, we are "confident *Cayenguirago* will not admit them into "his Government, till they have made Peace with "us, which we ſhall willingly grant. When our "Enemies are humbled, and beg Peace, why ſhould

" they not have it? Let them come and live with CHAP. X.
" us, it will ſtrengthen our Country.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, when the Chriſtians firſt " arrived in this Country, we received them kind- " ly. When they were but a ſmall People, we en- " tered into a League with them, to guard them " from all Enemies whatſoever. We were ſo fond " of their Society, that we tied the great Canoe " which brought them, not with a Rope made of " Bark to a Tree, but with a ſtrong iron Chain " faſtened to a great Mountain. Now before the " Chriſtians arrived, the General Council of the " *Five Nations* was held at *Onondaga*, where there " has, from the Beginning, a continual Fire been " kept burning; it is made of two great Logs, " whoſe Fire never extinguiſhes. As ſoon as the " Hatchet-makers (their general Name for Chriſti- " ans) arrived, this General Council at *Onondaga* " planted this Tree at *Albany*, whoſe Roots and " Branches have ſince ſpread as far as *New-Eng-* " *land*, *Connecticut*, *Penſilvania*, *Maryland* and *Vir-* " *ginia*; and under the Shade of this Tree all theſe " *Engliſh* Colonies have frequently been ſheltered. " Then (giving ſeven Fathom of Wampum) he re- " newed the Chain, and promiſed, as they likewiſe " expected, mutual Aſſiſtance, in Caſe of any At- " tack from any Enemy.

" The only Reaſon, to be plain with you, continu- " ed he, of our ſending to make Peace with the *French*, " is the low Condition to which we are reduced, while " none of our Neighbours ſend us the leaſt Aſſiſt- " ance, ſo that the whole Burthen of the War lyes " on us alone. Our Brethren of *New-England*, *Con-* " *necticut*, *Penſilvania*, *Maryland* and *Virginia*, of " their own accord thruſt their Arms into our " Chain; but ſince the War began we have receiv- " ed no Aſſiſtance from them. We alone cannot

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" continue the War againſt the *French*, by Reaſon of " the Recruits they daily receive from the other Side " the great Lake.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, ſpeak from your Heart, " are you reſolved to proſecute the War vigorouſly " againſt the *French*, and are your Neighbours of " *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Penſilvania*, *Connecticut* and " *New-England*, reſolved to aſſiſt us? If it be " ſo, we aſſure you, notwithſtanding any Trea- " ty hitherto entered into, we will proſecute the " War as hotly as ever. But if our Neighbours " will not aſſiſt, we muſt make Peace, and we ſub- " mit it to your Conſideration, by giving this great " Belt fifteen deep.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, I have truly told you the " Reaſons which have induced us to offer Peace to " the *French*; we ſhall likewiſe, from the Bottom " of our Hearts, inform you of the Deſign we " have in this Treaty. When the Governor of " *Canada* ſhall have accepted the nine Belts, of which " I have juſt now told you, then we ſhall have " ſomething more to ſay by two large Belts, which " lye ſtill hid in our Boſom. We ſhall lay down " firſt one and ſay, We have a Brother *Cayenguira-* " *go*, with whoſe People we have been united in " one Chain from the Beginning, they muſt be in- " cluded in this Treaty; we cannot ſee them in- " volved in bloody War, while we ſit in eaſy Peace. " If the Governor of *Canada* anſwer, that he has " made a ſeparate Peace with us, and that he can- " not make any Peace with *Cayenguirago*, becauſe " the War is from over the great Lake; then we " ſhall lay down the ſecond great broad Belt, and " tell the Governor of *Canada*, if you will not in- " clude *Cayenguirago*'s People, the Treaty will be- " come thereby void, as if it had never been " made; and if he perſiſts, we will abſolutely leave " him."

While

While the *Sachems* were at *Albany*, *Decaneſora* and the other Ambaſſadors arrived at the Caſtle of the *Praying Indians*, near the Falls above *Montreal*. They were conducted from thence, by the Superior of the Jeſuits, to *Quebeck*. They had their Audience of the Governor of *Canada* with great Solemnity, in the Preſence of all the Eccleſiaſticks and Officers of Diſtinction, and of the moſt conſiderable *Indians* then in the Place. They were every Day, while they ſtaid in the Place, entertained at the Governor's Table, or at the Tables of the moſt conſiderable Officers. *Decaneſora* on his Side made a good Appearance, being cloathed in Scarlet trim'd with Gold, and with a laced Bever Hat on his Head, which had been given him by Colonel *Fletcher* before he went. CHAP. X.

The Jeſuit *Milet* had by Letter informed the Governor of every Thing in their Commiſſion, and though he was thereby enabled to have anſwered them immediately, he conſulted three Days, after the Ambaſſadors had delivered what they had to ſay, before he would return an Anſwer, that it might appear with more Solemnity. The *Indians* never return a ſudden Anſwer on any Occaſion of Importance, however reſolved they be beforehand, and deſpiſe thoſe that do, though their Anſwer be never ſo much to the Purpoſe. I chooſe to give an Account of this from *Decanaſora*'s Mouth, as I did of the former, and for the ſame Reaſon. The Account given of it by the *Indians* agrees, in all the material Points, with that publiſhed by the *French*, and I am confident it is not leſs genuine.

Colonel *Fletcher* being ſenſible of what Conſequence this Treaty between the *French* and *Five Nations* might be of to all the *Engliſh* Colonies, gave them Notice of it, and informed them of the Reaſons which had induced the *Indians* to enter into

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to it. He told them, there was no Poſſibility of preventing it, but by the *Indians* being aſſured of more effectual Aſſiſtance, than they had hitherto received, and adviſed them to ſend Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe to *Albany* in *Auguſt*, at which Time he intended to meet the *Five Nations* there, after the Return of their Meſſengers from *Canada*. Accordingly, *Andrew Hamilton*, Eſq; Governor of *New-Jerſey*, Colonel *John Pinchon*, *Samuel Sands*, Eſq; and Major *Pen Townſend*, Commiſſioners from *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, and Colonel *John Hauley* and Captain *Stanley*, Commiſſioners from *Connecticut*, waited on Colonel *Fletcher* at *Albany*, who carried with him likewiſe a Part of the Council of *New-York*.

Theſe Gentlemen having met the *Indians* at *Albany* the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, *Decaneſora* roſe up firſt, and deſired Leave to ſing a Song or two of Peace, before they began on Buſineſs. Then *Rode*, a *Mohawk Sachem*, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to the other *Sachems*, ſaid, we have great Reaſon to rejoice, ſeeing ſo many of thoſe, who are in our Chain, are now met, to conſult together on the general Weal; after which they ſang two or three Songs.

Sadakanahtie being choſen Speaker for that Day, roſe up, ſpoke much to the ſame Purpoſe as he had done to Colonel *Fletcher* in *May* laſt; giving a metaphorical Account of their League with the *Engliſh*, how it began, and by what Steps it had been inlarged and ſtrengthened; how the other Colonies had thruſt their Arms into this Chain, but had given little or no Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy. "Our Brother *Cayenguirago*'s Arms (ſays he) "and ours are ſtiff, and tired with holding faſt the "Chain, whilſt our Neighbours ſit ſtill and ſmoak "at their Eaſe. The Fat is melted from our Fleſh, "and fallen on our Neighbours, who grow fat

"while

" while we grow lean: They flouriſh while we de- CHAP.
" cay. X.

" This Chain made us the Envy of the *French*,
" and if all had held it as faſt as *Cayenguirago*, it
" would have been a Terror alſo. If we would
" all heartily join and take the Hatchet in our
" Hand, our common Enemy would ſoon be de-
" ſtroyed, and we ſhould for ever after live in Peace
" and Eaſe. Do you but your Parts, and Thunder
" itſelf cannot break our Chain."

Then he mentioned ſome Jealouſies they had entertained of *New-England*, by their ſuffering the Chevalier *D'O* to eſcape to *Canada*, which they ſuſpected had been concerted between him and the People of *New-England*, in Order to treat of Peace. " Our Agents, ſaid he, ſaw the Chevalier *D'O* at
" *Canada*, who told them that he had been ſet at
" Liberty by the *Engliſh*, and that it was in vain
" that the *Five Nations* warred againſt the *French*,
" while the *Engliſh* favoured them." On this Occaſion he ſhewed them a Fiſh painted on Paper, which the Commiſſioners of *New-England* had given them, when they firſt entered into the Chain, as a Seal to the League.

He finiſhed by telling them, that they would next Day give all the Particulars of their Negotiation in *Canada*.

The next Day *Decaneſora* proceeded to the Account of his Negotiation, as follows: " The Go-
" vernor of *Canada* having often ſent to us to come
" to *Canada* to treat with him, we went thither,
" and told him that we were come to treat of Peace.
" We made the following Propoſals.

" Father, if we do not conclude a Peace now,
" it will be your Fault; for we have already taken
" the Hatchet out of the Hands of the *River Indi-*
" *ans* (*Hudſon*'s River) whom we incited to the
" War-

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" War. But we must tell you, that you are an ill " Man, you are inconstant and not to be trusted; " we have had War together a long Time, and " though you occasioned the War, we never hated " the House of *Oghessa*, (a Gentleman living at " *Montreal*) let him undertake the toilsome Jour- " ney to *Onondaga*; for if he will he shall be wel- " come.

" Father, we are now speaking of Peace, and " therefore I must speak a Word to the *Praying In-* " *dians*, and first to those of *Cahnaaga* (chiefly *Mo-* " *hawks*) you know our Customs and Manners, " therefore make *Onondio* acquainted therewith, and " be assisting in the prosecuting of this good Work. " Then to the other Castle, called *Canassadaga*, " (chiefly *Onondagas*) you are worse than the *French* " themselves, you deserted from us, and side with " our Enemies to destroy us; make some amends " now, by forwarding Peace.

" You have almost eat us up, our best Men are " killed in this bloody War; but we now forget " what is past. Before this we once threw the " Hatchet into the River of *Kaihohage*,* but you " fished it up, and treacherously surprised our Peo- " ple at *Cadarackui*. After this you sent to us to " have our Prisoners restored; then the Hatchet " was thrown up to the Sky, but you kept a String " fastened to the Helve, and pulled it down, and " fell upon our People again. This we revenged " to some Purpose, by the Destruction of your Peo- " ple and Houses in the Island of *Montreal*.

" Now we are come to cover the Blood from our " Sight, which has been shed by both Sides during " this long War.

* The *French* call it *la Famine*, near *Oswego*. The Treaty with Mr. *de la Bar* was made there.

" *Onon-*

" *Onondio*, we have been at War a long Time, we now give you a Medicine to drive away all ill Thoughts from your Heart, to purge it and make it clean, and reſtore it to its former State. CHAP. X.

" *Onondio*, we will not permit any Settlement at *Cadarackui*; you have had your Fire there thrice extinguiſhed; we will not conſent to your rebuilding that Fort, but the Paſſage through the River ſhall be free and clear. We make the Sun clean, and drive away all Clouds and Darkneſs, that we may ſee the Light without Interruption.

" *Onondio*, we have taken many Priſoners from one another, during the War. The Priſoners we took have been delivered, according to our Cuſtom, to the Families that have loſt any in the War. They no longer belong to the Publick, they may give them back if they pleaſe, your People may do the ſame. We have brought back two Priſoners, and reſtore them to you.

" After I had finiſhed what I had to ſay, continued he, the Governor of *Canada* told me, that he would not make Peace with *Cayenguirago*. To this I anſwered, theſe Words diſpleaſe me much, you ſhall keep Peace with him. *Onondio* ſaid again, I muſt fight with *Cayenguirago*, it is not in my Power to make Peace; this can only be done by my Maſter, who lives over the great Water. To this I replied, I cannot bear this Diſcourſe; if you ſhould fight him now, and not ſtay till I get Home, all the Country will look on me as a Traytor; I can treat with you no longer. The Argument on this Subject laſted three Days, at laſt the Governor of *Canada* aſſured me, that he would not undertake any Enterprize againſt *Cayenguirago* this Summer, but would wait to hear what he wou'd ſay.

" The

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" The Governor of *Canada* insisted three Days to " have Hostages left, which I refused, but two a- " greeing of their own accord to stay, they were " left, *viz.* one an *Onondago*, another a *Seneka*.

" Then the Governor of *Canada* made the follow- " ing publick Answer:

" I. I accept of Peace as you offer.

" II. Son, bring all the Prisoners back that you " have taken from me, and yours shall have Liber- " ty to return Home, if they please.

" III. Children, erect my Fire again at *Cada-* " *rackui*, and plant there the Tree of Peace.

" After this the Governor of *Canada* delivered " me a Belt, which I now lay down before you; " by it he said, desire *Cayenguirago* to send a wise " Man to me, and he shall have Protection accord- " ing to the Custom of Christians; and added,

" Children of the *Five Nations*, if *Cayenguirago* " shall employ you to do any Service for him, do " not accept of it, let him send his own People." *Decanesora* added, that the Governor of *Canada* had fixed eighty Days for a Return to this Belt.

He continued and said, " The *Sachems* of the " *Dionondadies* were present; after I had finished " my Speech, they said; May what you have now " said be from your Hearts; we suspect you are not " sincere; let us no longer feel the Smart of the " Hatchet, and gave this Belt which I now lay " down.

" The *Praying Indians* next said, Brethren, " our Father *Onondio* has told you to bring Home " all the Prisoners, do not fail in this; giving two " Belts.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, you will find what I have " now said confirmed by this Paper, which the Go-

" vernor

" vernor of *Canada* gave me. I brought Letters CHAP.
" likewiſe for the Jeſuit *Milet*, who was to read the X.
" Paper to us." The Paper contained the Articles in *French*, in which the Governor of *Canada* was willing to make Peace.

But beſides what *Decanoſora* here tells, the *French* Accounts ſay, that he brought two Belts underground (that is privately) from three *Onondaga Sachems*, to aſſure the Governor of *Canada* of their particular Affection, which the Governor of *Canada* anſwered, by a private Belt to them.

As ſoon as *Decaneſora* had done ſpeaking, Colonel *Fletcher* rejected the Belt ſent by the Governor of *Canada*, ſaying; If the Governor of *Canada* have any Thing to ſay to me, let him ſend ſome of his People to *Albany*, and they ſhall have Protection.

Next Day *Sadekanahtie*, after he had ſung a long Song, gave the following Account of their Negotiations with the *Dewagunhas* and *Dionondadies*, which they had undertaken by the Governor's Advice.

" We were afraid, ſays he, to ſend Meſſengers
" of our own People, and therefore we employed
" two Priſoners we had of the *Dionondadies* with
" the Governor's Belt. Some time after this, ſome
" of the *Senekas* hunting near the *Dionondadies*, two
" of them were taken; but when they were car-
" ried to the *Dionondadie* Caſtle, they were not
" treated like Priſoners; they were uſed kind-
" ly, and ſent back with the following Offers of
" Peace.

" We are glad to ſee you Face to Face to ſpeak
" to you, ſince the Sun has been ſo propitious to
" ſend home the Men that were Priſoners with you,
" giving a few Strings of Wampum.

" We are glad of this Opportunity to tell you,
" that we have been both drunk in making War on

" one

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" one another; we now give you a Cordial to eaſe " your Hearts, that there be no longer War between " us, by this Belt.

" We are glad that you have ſet the Doors open " as far as *Cayenguirago*'s Houſe, that we may free- " ly go thither. Carry him this ſecond Belt.

" Brethren, we thank you for having prepared a " Place for us at your General Council of *Onondaga*. " Our Country is every where free to you to treat " with us, by this third Belt.

" Brethren, our whole Country rejoiced when " you invited us into your Country, and from " thence to go where *Cayenguirago* dwells; be not " afraid to come to our Country, you ſhall meet " with no Moleſtation.

" Brethren, we thank you for putting us in " Mind of what was formerly agreed to, *viz.* that " when any ill Accident happens, we were to meet " together to compoſe Matters, and not to revenge " it with War. We are now together to put " an End to all Miſunderſtanding, by this fourth " Belt.

" Brethren, (we include all the Nations from the " *Senekas* Country to *New-York* in this Name) " hearken to us. We rend the Clouds aſunder, " and drive away all Darkneſs from the Heavens, " that the Sun of Peace may ſhine with Brightneſs " over us all; giving a Sun of a round red poliſh- " ed Stone.

" Brethren, we put the Hatchet into the Hands " of the *Chightaghies*, *Twithtwies*, and *Odſirachies*, " to war againſt you; but we ſhall in three Days " go to theſe Nations and take the Hatchet out of " their Hands; giving half a Stone Pipe.

" You *Senekas* are ſtupid Creatures, we muſt " therefore warn you not to hunt ſo far from your " Caſtles, leſt you be hurt by any of theſe three

" Nations

" Nations, and then blame us. They then gave CHAP.
" the other half of the Pipe. X.

" But Brother *Cayenguirago*, ſays *Sadakahnitie*, do
" not ſuffer theſe Nations to come nearer than the
" *Senekas* Country, leſt they diſcover our Weak-
" neſs, and to what a low Condition the War has
" reduced us. Theſe Nations have been ſo long
" in Friendſhip with the *French*, and are ſo much
" under their Influence, that we cannot truſt them
" yet, or be too much upon our Guard againſt
" them."

Colonel *Fletcher* not being able to give the *Five Nations* any Aſſurance of a vigorous Aſſiſtance, he called the principal *Sachems* to a private Conference on the twentieth. He aſked them, whether they had made Peace with the Governor of *Canada*; they anſwered, that it only wanted his Approbation, and added, that they could no longer carry on the War without Aſſiſtance. You have the whole Negotiations before you, ſay they, and we ſubmit it to your Prudence.

He then allowed them to make Peace, provided they kept faithful in their Chain with the *Engliſh*; but told them, that as to his Part he could make no Peace with the Governor of *Canada*. They were under great Uneaſineſs to leave their Friends in the War, they ſaid, and wiſhed, ſince neither the Governor of *Canada* nor he would receive Propoſals by their Hands, that they might think of ſome neutral Place to treat. The Governor anſwered, that he could neither receive nor ſend any Meſſage on that Head; and that Peace could be only made between them by the two Kings.

The Governor next aſked them, whether they would permit the *French* to build again at *Cadarackui*; they anſwered, they would never permit it, and were reſolved to inſiſt on it, in all the enſuing Treaties, that he never ſhall. Then the Governor

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added, if you permit the *French* to build any where on that Lake, there will be an End to your Liberty, your Posterity will become Slaves to the *French*. If ever you should permit them, I will look on it as an absolute Breach of the Chain with us: If the *French* attempt it give me Notice, and I will march the whole Force of my Government to your Assistance. We shall find afterwards, however, that the Government of *New-York* was far from making good this Promise.

The Governor told them, that they had lost much of their Honour in creeping to the *French*, in such an abject Manner; for, says he, the Governor of *Canada*'s Paper, which you brought with you, says, that you came in the most humble and penitent Manner, and begged Peace. To which they answered, the Governor of *Canada* has no Reason to make such Reflexions, we have many of his Belts to shew, by which he again and again sued to us for Peace, before we would hearken to him. But, replies the Governor, how came you to call him Father? For no other Reason, they replied, but because he calls us Children. These Names signify nothing.

They desired the Governor not to say any Thing particularly of *Cadarcakui*, in his publick Speech that he was to make next Day, for they had, they said, some among them that would tell all to the Governor of *Canada*; and concluded, with wishing that they had some one, who could write and read all that the Governor had said to them, that they might not forget any Part of it, when they come to consult and resolve on this weighty Affair, at their General Council at *Onondaga*.

Here we see these Barbarians, these Savages, as we call them, acting with the greatest regard to the Treaties they had entered into with their Allies,

and that at a Time when the Exigences of their own Affairs, and when the faint feeble Assistance, which their Allies had contributed in the common Cause, would, among Christian Potentates, have been thought a sufficient Excuse for their taking Care of themselves separately, in breach of the most solemn Confederacy they could enter into. CHAP. X.

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* being met at *Onondaga*, to consult on the Terms offered by the *French*, they were divided in their Opinions; the *Cayugas*, and Part of the *Senekas*, were most favorable to the *French* Proposals; but the major Part was absolutely against allowing the *French* to rebuild a Fort at *Cadarackui*, nor would they consent to include all the *French* Allies in the Treaty, with some of which they had particular Causes of Animosity.

The Party that was most for Peace obtained Leave to go to *Canada*, to try whether they could obtain Terms less disagreeable. They accordingly went thither, within the Time prefixed by the Governor of *Canada*, for an Answer; and to make themselves more acceptable to the *French*, they carried thirteen Prisoners with them, and delivered them up. The Jesuit *Milet* was of this Number, who had been taken in the Year 1689, and one *Jonscaire*, who had been long a Prisoner among the *Senekas:* He had been delivered up to a Family of the *Senekas*, that had lost some considerable Relation, and was by them adopted. He ingratiated himself so much with that Nation, that he was advanced to the Rank of a *Sachem*, and preserved their Esteem to the Day of his Death; whereby he became, after the general Peace, very useful to the *French* in all Negotiations with the *Five Nations*, and to this Day they shew their Regard to his Family and Children.

When the Governor of *Canada* came to Particulars with theſe Deputies, he could obtain nothing but ambiguous or dubious Anſwers, as to the rebuilding of *Cadarackui Fort*, and the including of all the *French* Allies in the Peace. Whereupon he diſmiſſed them with Preſents, and made them many fair Promiſes, in Caſe of their Compliance; but threatened them with utter Deſtruction, in Caſe of their refuſing the Terms he had offered. Many of the *French Indian* Allies were preſent, when the Governor of *Canada* refuſed any Agreement without his Allies being included in it, and this attached them exceedingly to the *French* Intereſt. This Regard, which the *French* generally ſhew for the Intereſt of their Allies, is a Piece of Policy which, upon all Occaſions, proves uſeful to them; whereas, the Neglect of this Piece of natural Juſtice has as often been prejudicial to others, who have not had ſo tender a Senſe of it. But it is not ſo eaſy for a weak State to keep up its Honour in ſuch Caſes, as it is for a powerful Prince.

CHAP. XI.

The War renewed. The French *repoſſeſs themſelves of* Cadarackui *Fort, and find Means to break off the Treaty between the* Five Nations *and* Dionondadies.

CHAP. XI.

THE *Five Nations* refuſing to come to the Governor of *Canada*'s Terms, he reſolved to force them; and as he ſuſpected that they continued obſtinate, by the Advice of the *Engliſh*, and the Confidence they had of the *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance, he thought he would moſt effectually leſſen that Confidence,

dence, by attacking and deſtroying the remainder of the *Mohawks*, who liv'd adjoining to the *Engliſh* Settlements. For this Purpoſe he reſolved to march, in the Winter, the whole Force of *Canada* againſt that Nation; but one of the Priſoners learning their Deſign, made his Eſcape, and informed the *Mohawks* of it. This made him alter his Meaſures, knowing well enough, that if the *Engliſh* were prepared to receive them, ſuch an Enterprize would only lead thoſe engaged in it to certain Deſtruction. He then ſent three hundred Men into the Neck of Land between *Lake Erie* and *Cadarackui Lake*, the uſual hunting Place of the *Five Nations*, in hopes of ſurpriſing them while they hunted careleſsly there, and at the ſame Time to view the old *French* Fort there, to obſerve in what Condition it remained. CHAP. XI.

This Party met with three or four Men, who defended themſelves obſtinately, till they all fell dead on the Spot. They ſurpriſed likewiſe a Cabin, where they took ſome Men and Women Priſoners; and four of them were publickly burnt alive at *Montreal*. So far the Count *de Frontenac* thought it more proper to imitate the *Indians* in their moſt ſavage Cruelties, than to inſtruct them, by his Example, in the Compaſſion of the Chriſtian Doctrine. A Party of one hundred and fifty of the *Five Nations* fell upon the *Dewagunhas*, in their Way to *Canada*, and entirely routed them. Ten Priſoners were taken, nine of which were burnt alive, in revenge of the ſame Fate the four Men of the *Five Nations* had received at *Montreal*.

This Year alſo ſome ſculking *French Indians* murdered ſome People near *Albany* and *Schenectady*.

The Party ſent to view *Cadarackui Fort* found it in a better Condition than they expected, the *Indians* having neglected to demoliſh and level the Baſtions, and probably they had not Inſtruments ſufficient to

CHAP. X.

do it. The Count *de Frontenac* therefore, in the Summer of the Year 1695, ſent a conſiderable Body of Men, both *French* and *Indians*, thither, to repair the Fortifications, and to cover thoſe that ſhould be at work. The *Five Nations*, in *Auguſt*, ſent Meſſengers to *Albany*, to acquaint the *Engliſh* that the *French* had taken Poſſeſſion of *Cadarackui*, and were repairing of it. They demanded, in Conſequence of the Promiſe Colonel *Fletcher* had given them, the Aſſiſtance of five hundred Men and ſome Canon, which they promiſed they would draw over Land, where they could not be carried by Water. At the ſame Time they deſired, that the People of *New-England* might be told, that many of the *Owenagungas* were gone with the *French* to *Cadarackui*, and that this was a proper Time to fall upon thoſe that remained, and to deſtroy them, and the Women and Children.

Coll. *Fletcher* came to *Albany* in *September*; there, in a Speech to the *Five Nations*, he blamed them for being aſleep, when they ſuffered the *French* to take Poſſeſſion of *Cadarackui*; it would have been much eaſier, he ſaid, to have prevented their getting the Poſſeſſion, than to drive them out, now they are in it, eſpecially as now you yourſelves are convinced, that it is impoſſible to carry Cannon thither from this Place. All, ſays he, I can now do, is to adviſe you to inveſt the Place with your Parties, ſo as to prevent their receiving any Supply of Proviſions: By this Means you may force them to deſert it. Then he gave them 1000 Pound of Powder, two Thouſand Pound of Lead, 57 Fuſees, one Hundred Hatchets, three Hundred and forty eight Knives, and two Thouſand Flints, beſides Cloathing, *&c.* But in my Opinion, the Government of *New-York* have, on all Occaſions, been exceedingly to be blamed, in not having ſome Men of Experience

ence among the *Five Nations* to adviſe and direct them on all Emergencies of Importance. The *French* are very careful of this, and the *Officers* of the regular Troops are obliged to take their Tours among their *Indians*, while the Captains of the independent Companies of Fuſiliers at *New-York* live like military Monks, in Idleneſs and Luxury. CHAP. XI.

The *French* gained a great Advantage, by poſſeſſing this Place, as it is of great Security to their Traders, in their paſſing between *Montreal* and *Miſſilimakinak*. It ſerved likewiſe as a Place of Stores, and Retreat in all their Enterpriſes againſt the *Five Nations*, that Place being nearly about half Way between *Montreal* and the Country of the *Five Nations*. It likewiſe expoſed the *Five Nations* in their hunting, to the Incurſions of that Gariſon, by its being in the Neighbourhood of their principal hunting Place for Bever.

The *French* grew exceedingly uneaſy, when they found, that the *Dionondadies*, who live near *Miſſilimakinak*, had almoſt concluded a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and that the reſt of their Allies were like to follow their Example: Some of theſe Nations had been at *Montreal*, and at their Return forwarded the Peace, that thereby they might be at Liberty to go to *Albany*; for they informed their Neighbours, that the *Five Nations* had intirely ſhut up the Path to *Montreal*; and beſides that, the *French* were not in a Condition to ſupply them, for they had nothing for themſelves, not ſo much as a Drop of ſtrong Spirits. If theſe Nations had, at that Time, deſerted the *French*, it might probably have put an End to the *French* Colony; for as the Lands of *Canada* barely produce ſufficient for the Subſiſtence of its Inhabitants, the only Means they have of purchaſing Cloathing and other Neceſſaries is by their Trade with the *Indians*. The *French*

CHAP. XI. likewiſe had been in Danger of greater Miſchief by the Peace, for theſe Nations being at War with the *Five Nations*, and lying on the Back of them, obliged the *Five Nations* to keep always a very conſiderable Part of their Force at home, to defend themſelves againſt theſe Nations, and to revenge the Injuries they received from them; but if the Peace had been concluded with theſe Nations, the *Five Nations* could have turned their whole Force againſt *Canada*, and probably might have perſuaded theſe Nations to have joined with them in warring on the *French*.

The *French* Commandant at *Miſſilimakinak* had his Hands full at this Time; and if he had not been a Man of great Abilities, he muſt have ſunk under the Difficulties he had to go through; in the firſt Place, to contradict the Stories brought from *Montreal*, he ordered the Stores of his Fort to be ſold to the *Indians* at the cheapeſt Rate, and aſſured them, that great Quantities were every Day expected from *France*, which were only detained by contrary Winds; and after theſe Goods ſhall arrive, ſaid he, they will be ſold cheaper than ever they have been. He told them likewiſe, that the Count *de Frontenac* would never make Peace with the *Five Nations*, but was reſolved to extirpate them; for which Purpoſe he was now rebuilding *Cadarackui Fort*. At the ſame Time he took all poſſible Methods to extinguiſh the Beginnings of Friendſhip, which appeared between the *Five Nations* and *Dionondadies*.

The *Dionondadies* durſt not avow their treating with the *Five Nations* to the *French*, neither durſt the *Five Nations* truſt their Agents in a Place where they knew the *French* had ſo great Influence; both Sides therefore agreed to carry on their Treaty by Means of Priſoners which they took from one another. The Civility with which the *Dionondadies* treated theſe Priſoners, their diſmiſſing them, and

their receiving again Prisoners which had been taken by the *Five Nations*, gave the Commandant sufficient Ground to suspect what was doing. The *Dionondadies* at last took seven Men of the *Five Nations* Prisoners, and carried them to *Missilimakinak*. The *French* perceiving, by their Manner of bringing them in, that the *Dionondadies* intended to treat them with the Civility they had lately used to others, murdered two of them with their Knives as they stept ashore. On this the *Dionondadies* immediately took to their Arms, saved the other Five, and carried them safe to their Castle; and continuing in Arms, threatened Revenge for the Insult they had received. CHAP. XI.

The *French* were forced in like Manner to stand to their Arms, and as there are always many different Nations at *Missilimakinak* trading, some of which were inveterate Enemies of the *Five Nations*, they joined with the *French*. The *Utawawas* stood neuter. This gave the Commandant Means of ending the Dispute by Composition. He in the first Place assured them, that the Christians abhorred all Manner of Cruelty, and then told them, that as the *French* shared with the *Dionondadies* in all the Dangers and Losses sustained by the War, they ought in like Manner to partake with them in any Advantage. The *Dionondadies* on this were persuaded to deliver up one of the Prisoners. What I am about to relate, I think, gives Room to charge the *French* with a Piece of Policy, not only inconsistent with the Christian Religion, but likewise with the Character of a polite People; and that all Considerations from Religion, Honour, and Virtue, must give Way to the present Exigencies of their Affairs. That an End might be put to the Beginnings of a Reconciliation between these People and the *Five Nations*, the *French* gave a publick Invitation to feast on the Soup to be made on this Prisoner, and, in a more particular Manner,

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Manner, invited the *Utawawas* to the Entertainment.

The Priſoner being firſt made faſt to a Stake, ſo as to have Room to move round it, a *Frenchman* began the horrid Tragedy, by broiling the Fleſh of the Priſoner's Legs, from his Toes to his Knees, with the red hot Barrel of a Gun; his Example was followed by an *Utawawa*, and they relieved one another as they grew tired. The Priſoner all this while continued his Death Song, till they clapt a red hot Frying-pan on his Buttocks, when he cried out, Fire is ſtrong and too powerful; then all their *Indians* mocked him, as wanting Courage and Reſolution. You, they ſaid, a Soldier and a Captain, as you ſay, and afraid of Fire; you are not a Man. They continued their Torments for two Hours without ceaſing. An *Utawawa* being deſirous to outdo the *French* in their refined Cruelty, ſplit a Furrow from the Priſoner's Shoulder to his Garter, and filling it with Gunpowder, ſet Fire to it. This gave him exquiſite Pain, and raiſed exceſſive Laughter in his Tormenters. When they found his Throat ſo much parched, that he was no longer able to gratify their Ears with his howling, they gave him Water, to enable him to continue their Pleaſure longer. But at laſt his Strength failing, an *Utawawa* ſlead off his Scalp, and threw burning hot Coals on his Scull. Then they untied him, and bid him run for his Life: He began to run, tumbling like a drunken Man; they ſhut up the Way to the Eaſt, and made him run Weſtward, the Country, as they think, of departed (miſerable) Souls. He had ſtill Force left to throw Stones, till they put an End to his Miſery by knocking him on the Head with a Stone. After this every one cut a Slice from his Body, to conclude the Tragedy with a Feaſt. It is doing no Injury, I think, to theſe *Frenchmen*, who thus glory in this horrid Cruelty, to aſk them, whether they did

did not likewiſe regale their revengeful Appetites with a Share of this inhuman Feaſt? CHAP. XI.

Though I have had frequent Occaſions to mention theſe barbarous inhuman Cruelties, tranſacted by the *Indians*, yet I have avoided to relate the particular Circumſtances of them, becauſe I believe few civilized Ears can bear the reading of them without Horror. But when they are perpetrated by Chriſtians, and ſo far gloried in, as to be recorded in their own Hiſtory, I am willing to ſhew it to my Countrymen in its proper Colours. This laſt Piece of *French* Hiſtory is taken from *Hiſtoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale, par Monſr. de la Poterie*, publiſhed at *Paris* with the Royal Licence, and recommended to the Publick by Monſ. *Fontenelle*, Vol. ii. Page 298.

Though this cruel Act had its deſigned Effect, in breaking off this Method of negotiating between the *Five Nations* and *Dionondadies*, it did not prevent the Peace; and it had very near raiſed a Civil War with their own *Indians*, which was only prevented by the dextrous Conduct of the *French* Officers, who, in all kind of Artifice, have always been ſuperior to the *Indians*. But let me obſerve on this Occaſion, that the avoiding any Misfortune, by any baſe or wicked Action, is commonly the Cauſe of greater Miſchiefs than what is thereby avoided; and of this numerous Examples may be given.

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The Count de Frontenac *attacks* Onondaga *in Perſon, with the whole Force of* Canada. *The* Five Nations *continue the War with the* French, *and make Peace with the* Dionondadies.

CHAP. XII. THE Count *de Frontenac* having ſecured *Cadarackui Fort*, which was called by his Name, as a Place of Arms and Proviſions, and for a Retreat to the Men that ſhould happen to be ſick or wounded, reſolved to make the *Five Nations* feel his Reſentment of their refuſing his Terms of Peace. For this Purpoſe he aſſembled all the regular Troops of *Canada*, the Militia, the *Owenagungas*, the *Quatoghies* of *Loretto*, the *Adirondacks*, *Sokokies*, *Nepiciriniens*, the *Praying Indians* of the *Five Nations*, and a few *Utawawas*, at *Montreal*, in *June* 1696. The other weſtern *Indians* near *Miſſilimakinak*, by their late Correſpondence with the *Five Nations*, and the Diſſatisfaction they had manifeſted, were not truſted. The Manner of making War with the *Indians* in a Country wholly covered with Woods, muſt be ſo much different from the Methods uſed in *Europe*, that I believe the Reader will be pleaſed to have a particular Account of the Count *de Frontenac*'s Conduct in this, who was an old experienced General, in the ſeventy fourth Year of his Age.

It is to be obſerved, that it is impoſſible to paſs the vaſt Foreſts between the Countries of the *Five Nations* with Waggons, or other Carriages, or on Horſeback, or even on Foot, in the ſummer Time, by Reaſon of many impaſſible thick Swamps and Moraſſes. For this Reaſon, the only Method of travelling

travelling is in Bark Canoes, or very light Battoes, along the Rivers, which may be eaſily carried on Men's Shoulders, where the Stream of the River becomes too rapid, and from one River to another; for which Purpoſe the ſhorteſt Paſſes are always choſen, and are called, for this Reaſon, Carrying Places. CHAP. XII

The Count *de Frontenac* marched from *la Chine*, in the ſouth End of the Iſland of *Montreal*, the fourth of *July*. He divided five hundred *Indians* ſo, that the greateſt Number of them ſhould always be in the Van, which conſiſted of two Battalions of the regular Troops. They were followed by the Canoes which carried the Proviſions. The Van was commanded by the Chevalier *de Callieres*, Governor of *Montreal*; he had with him two large Battoes, which carried two ſmall Pieces of Cannon, ſmall Mortars, Granadoes, and the Utenſils of the Artillery. The Count *de Frontenac* was at the Head of the main Body, accompanied by the Engineer and ſeveral Gentlemen Voluntiers. The Body conſiſted of four Battalions of the Militia, who, in War with *Indians*, were then more depended on than the regular Troops; theſe were commanded by Monſieur *Ramſay*, Governor of *Trois Rivieres*. The Rear, which conſiſted of two Battalions of regular Troops, and of the reſt of the *Indians*, was under the Command of the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil*. All the *Indians* had *French* Officers ſet over them.

In this Order the Army marched, only thoſe that were in the Van one Day, were in the Rear the next; and they always kept a Number of *Indians* on the Scout, to diſcover the Tracks of the Enemy, for fear of Ambuſcades. And when they were obliged to carry the Canoes, and drag the large Battoes, ſeveral Parties were detached to cover the Men that worked.

After

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After twelve Days March they arrived at *Cadarackui Fort*, one hundred eighty Miles from *Montreal*. Here they waited for the *Utawawas*, who disappointed them; and in the mean Time raised a Bark, which had remained sunk since *Cadarackui Fort* was deserted. They crossed over *Cadarackui* Lake to *Onondaga* River (now *Ohswega*). This River being narrow and rapid, they ordered fifty Men to march on each Side of it, to prevent their being surprised, and the Army moved slowly along the River, according to the Intelligence they received from their Scouts. They found a Tree, as they passed along, on which the *Indians* had, in their Manner, painted the *French* Army, and had laid by it two Bundles of cut Rushes. This was a Defiance in the *Indian* Manner, and to tell them by the Number of Rushes, that fourteen hundred thirty four Men would meet them. The *French* passed the little Lake, between *Ohswega* and *Onondaga*, in Order of Battle; and the two Wings, to prevent their being surprised, and to make the Place of their Landing more uncertain to the Enemy, took a Circuit along the Coast. As soon as they had landed they raised a Fort. A *Seneka*, who had been some time a Prisoner in *Canada*, and pretended an Attachment to the *French*, was sent out to make a Discovery. He deserted to the *Onondagas*. He found them waiting for the *French*, with a Resolution to defend their Castle, and to fight the *French*; for which Purpose they had sent away their Women and Children. The *Seneka* told them that the *French* Army was as numerous as the Leaves on the Trees; that they had Machines which threw Balls up in the Air, and which falling on their Castle burst to Pieces, and spread Fire and Death every where, against which their Stockadoes could be of no Defence. This was confirmed by another *Seneka*, who deserted. Upon which the *Onondagas* thought it most

moſt adviſeable to retire, leaving their poor Fort and bark Cottages all in Flames. CHAP. XII.

After the General had an Account of this, he marched to their Village in Order of Battle. The Army was divided into two Lines: The firſt commanded by the Chevalier *de Callieres*, who placed himſelf on the Left, conſiſted of two Battalions of the Inhabitants in the Center, and a Battalion of the regular Troops on each Wing. The Artillery followed them. Moſt of the *Indians* of this Diviſion were upon the Right, who continually ſent out Scouts. The ſecond Line was commanded by the Chevalier *de Vaudreuel*, compoſed of the ſame Number of Battalions, and in the ſame Order. The Count *de Frontenac* was carried in a Chair directly after the Artillery. But it was impoſſible for them to keep their Order, in paſſing through thick Woods, and in paſſing Brooks. In this formidable Manner the aged General marched up to the Aſhes of the Village, and his Army exerted their Fury on the *Indian* Corn, which covered a large Field in thick Ranks.

An *Indian Sachem*, about one hundred Years old, would not retire with the reſt, but choſe this Time to end his Days. The *French Indians* had the Pleaſure of tormenting him, which he bore with ſurpriſing Evenneſs of Mind, and with that Reſolution which becomes a *Sachem* of the *Five Nations*. He told his Tormentors to remember well his Death, when his Countrymen ſhould come to take terrible Vengeance of them. Upon which, one ſtabbing him ſeveral Times with his Knife, he thanked him but ſaid, you had better make me die by Fire, that theſe Dogs of *Frenchmen* may learn how to ſuffer like Men. You *Indians*, their Allies, you Dogs of Dogs, think of me when you ſhall be in the like State. Thus this old *Sachem*, under all the Weakneſs of old Age, preſerved a Greatneſs of Soul, and a due

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a due Regard for the Honour of his Country, to the laſt Moment of his Breath.

The Chevalier *de Vaudreuil* was ſent with a Detachment of ſix or ſeven hundred Men to deſtroy the *Oneydoes* Corn, who liv'd but a ſmall Diſtance from *Onondaga*, which he performed without any Reſiſtance. The Jeſuit *Milet* had lived for the moſt Part with the *Oneydoes*; he had infuſed into them the moſt favourable Sentiments of the *French*, and they had been the moſt inclined to Peace on the *French* Terms. Thirty five of them ſtaid in their Caſtle to make the *French* welcome; but the only Favour they obtained, was to be made Priſoners, and carried to *Montreal*. The *French* Governor declared his Reſolutions to extirpate the *Onondagas*, and for that Reaſon gave Orders to give no Quarter.

The Difficulty of ſupporting ſo many Men in theſe Deſerts, made it neceſſary for the Count *de Frontenac* to return as ſpeedily as poſſible. Though the *French* Army was much an Overmatch for the *Onondagas*, both in Number of Men and in their Arms, the *Onondagas* were not ſo far diſpirited, as not to follow them in their Return. They found Opportunities to revenge themſelves in ſome Meaſure, by cutting off every Canoe that happened at any Time to be at a Diſtance from the main Body. This obliged the Count to haſten his March, ſo that he returned to *Montreal* the tenth of *Auguſt*.

The *Onondagas* ſuffered nothing by this chargeable Expedition, but the Loſs of their Corn, and their Bark Cottages. They loſt not one Man, but the old *Sachem*, who reſolved to die a Martyr to his Country's Honour. The *French* ſuffered conſiderably by its Conſequences; for all the Planters being taken off from their Labour, either in this Expedition, or in watching and ſecuring their Forts

and

and Country, a Famine enſued; and this I find has often happened in *Canada*, where all the Men, fit to bear Arms, have been employed in ſuch like Expeditions. If the *Oneydoes* had not timely ſurrendered themſelves, the Count had not been able to have carried Home the leaſt Token of a Victory. And all that can be ſaid for this Enterprize is, that it was a kind of heroick Dotage. CHAP. XIII.

The Influence that the Jeſuit *Milet* had obtained over the *Oneydoes* was ſuch, that ſome Time after this, thirty of them deſerted to the *French*, and deſired that he might be appointed their Paſtor.

In the following Winter the *Mohawks*, with the Governor of *New-York*'s Privacy, ſent one to the *Praying Indians* with two Belts, and he carried two Priſoners with him. By the firſt Belt he aſked, whether the Path was entirely ſhut up between their two Countries; and, by the ſecond, demanded the Reſtitution of a Priſoner the *Praying Indians* had taken: But his real Deſign was, to learn the State of their Country, and what Deſigns were forming. Notwithſtanding the Influence and Artifice of the *French* Prieſts over theſe Converts, they ſtill retained an Affection to their Countrymen; for which Reaſon the Count *de Frontenac* entertained a Jealouſy of theſe Intercourſes, and threatened to put to Death any that ſhould come in that Manner again; but the Meſſenger had the Satisfaction of diſcovering the diſtreſſed Condition of *Canada* by Famine.

A Party of the *French* was ſent out in the Winter, to make ſome Attempt upon the *Engliſh* Settlements near *Albany*; but ſome *Mohawks* and *Scalkook Indians* meeting with them, before they reached the Settlements, they were intirely routed. The commanding Officer, one *du Bau*, and two others, ſaved themſelves from the Fury of the *Indi-*

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ans, by running to *Albany*; the reſt were either killed or periſhed in the Woods, ſo that not one Man of this Party got back to *Canada*.

It was much eaſier for the *French* to ſet the *Praying Indians* upon the *Engliſh*, againſt whom it is poſſible many of them had perſonal Animoſities, that made them go over to the *French*, than to fight their Countrymen. Several of them came this Winter ſkulking about *Schenectady* and *Albany*; and being well acquainted with the Country, and ſpeaking likewiſe the *Mohawk*'s Language, by which they ſometimes deceived the Inhabitants, they ſurpriſed ſome of the Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps.

The *Five Nations*, to ſhew that the Count *de Frontenac*'s Expedition had no Way diſcouraged them, ſent out ſeveral Parties againſt *Canada*. One of them met with a Party of *French* upon *St. Laurence River*, near *Montreal*. The *French* were routed, and their Captain killed. As ſoon as this was heard at *Montreal*, *Repentigni* was ſent out after them with a conſiderable Party of *French*, *Nepicirinien Indians* and *Praying Indians*; but this Party was likewiſe defeated, and the Captain, with many of his Men, killed.

Thus the War was continued till the Peace of *Reſwick*, by ſmall Parties of *Indians*, on both Sides, haraſſing, ſurpriſing, and ſcalping the Inhabitants near *Montreal* and *Albany*.

Some Time this Year the chief *Sachem* of the *Dionondadies* (whom the *French* call the *Baron*) went to *Quebeck*, pretending a ſtrong Attachment to the *French*, but really to conceal the Treaty of Peace that he was on the Point of concluding with the *Five Nations*; for which Purpoſe he had ſent his Son with nineteen Belts to the *Senekas*. The Subſtance of whoſe Commiſſion was as follows:

The *French* have for many Years confounded our Reſolutions, and deceived us, but now we are reſolved to break all their Artifices, by ſtopping our Ears. We come now to unite with you, while the *French* know nothing of the Matter. The Commandant at *Miſſilimakinak* has told us many Lies, he has betrayed us, and made us kill one another, but we are firmly reſolved never to hearken to him any more. The Peace was accordingly firmly concluded, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition the *French* could make. The *French* Authors ſay, the only Reaſon that induced the *Dionondadies* was, that the *Engliſh* ſold them Goods cheaper than the *French* could.

Some Time before the News of the Peace arrived, the *French* at *Montreal* being informed that a Party of the *Five Nations* were diſcovered near *Corlear's Lake*, ſent out a Captain with a Party of Soldiers and *Indians*, who being well experienced in the Manner of making War with *Indians*, marched through the thickeſt Woods, and by the leaſt frequented Places, ſo that he diſcovered the Enemy, without being diſcovered. He ſurpriſed that Party, killed ſeveral, and took one Priſoner. The *Utawawas* being then trading at *Montreal*, the Count *de Frontenac* invited them to a Feaſt to be made of this Priſoner, and cauſed him to be burnt publickly alive at *Montreal*, in the Manner of which I have already given two Accounts from the *French* Authors.

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The Conduct which the Engliſh *and* French *obſerved, in regard to the* Five Nations, *immediately after the Peace of* Reſwick.

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SOON after the News of the Peace of *Reſwick* reached *New-York*, the Governor ſent an Expreſs to *Canada*, to inform the Governor there of it, that Hoſtilities might ceaſe. The *Five Nations* having an Account of the Peace earlier than they had it in *Canada*, took Advantage of it, in hunting Bever near *Cadarackui Fort*. The Governor of *Canada* being informed of this, and believing that the *Five Nations* thought themſelves ſecure by the general Peace, reſolved to take his laſt Revenge of them. For this Purpoſe he ſent a conſiderable Party of *Adirondacks* to ſurpriſe them, which they did, and killed ſeveral, but not without Loſs of many of their own Men. The Loſs of one of their greateſt Captains at that Time gave the *Five Nations* the greateſt Affliction. After he was mortally wounded, he cried out: "Muſt I, who have made "the whole Earth tremble before me, now die by "the Hands of Children?" for he deſpiſed the *Adirondacks*.

A Diſpute at this Time aroſe, between the Government of *New-York* and *Canada*, about the *French* Priſoners which the *Five Nations* had in their Hands. The Earl of *Bellamont*, then Governor of *New-York*, would have the *French* receive thoſe Priſoners from him, and directed the *Five Nations* to bring them to *Albany* for that Purpoſe. The *French*, on the other Hand, refuſed to own the *Five Nations* as ſubject to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and threat-

ened to continue the War againſt the *Five Nations*, if they did not bring the Priſoners to *Montreal*, and deliver them there. The Count *de Frontenac* ſent ſome of the *Praying Indians* with a Meſſage to this Purpoſe, and to have all the *French* Allies included in the general Peace. CHAP. XIII.

The Meſſenger on his Return told the Count, publickly in Preſence of ſeveral *Utawawas*, that the *Five Nations* refuſed to include ſeveral of his Allies, but were reſolved to revenge the Injuries they had received. The *Utawawas* were exceedingly diſcompoſed at hearing this, and the Count, to recover their Spirits, aſſured them, that he never would make Peace without including all his Allies in it, and without having all their Priſoners reſtored. At the ſame Time he made Preparations to attack the *Five Nations* with the whole Force of *Canada*.

The Earl of *Bellamont* being informed of this, ſent Captain *John Schuyler* (of the Militia) to tell the Count, that he had the Intereſt of the King his Maſter too much at Heart, to ſuffer the *French* to treat the *Five Nations* like Enemies, after the Concluſion of the general Peace; for which Reaſon he had ordered them to be on their Guard, and had furniſhed them with Arms and Ammunition; that he had ordered the Lieutenant-Governor, in Caſe they were attacked, either by the *French* or their Allies, to join them with the regular Troops; and that, if he found it neceſſary, he would raiſe the whole Force of his Government in their Defence.

This put a Stop to the *French* Threatening, and both Sides made Complaint to their Maſters. The two Kings ordered their reſpective Governors to be aſſiſting to each other, in making the Peace effectual to both Nations, and to leave the Diſputes, as to the Dependency of the *Indian Nations*, to be determined

CHAP. XIII. termined by Commiſſioners, to be appointed purſuant to the Treaty of *Reſwick*.

It is exceedingly impolitick, when weaker Potentates, ingaged in a Confederacy againſt one powerful Prince, leave any Points to be determined after the Concluſion of a Peace; for if they cannot obtain a Conceſſion, while the Confederacy ſtands and their Force is united, how can a weaker Prince hope to obtain it, when he is left alone to himſelf, after the Confederacy is diſſolved? The *French* have ſo often found the Benefit of this Piece of Imprudence, that in all their Treaties they uſe all the Cajoling, and every Artifice in their Power, to obtain this Advantage, and they ſeldom miſs it.

About the Time of the Concluſion of the Peace at *Reſwick*, the noted *Therouet* died at *Montreal*. The *French* gave him Chriſtian Burial in a pompous Manner, the Prieſt, that attended him at his Death, having declared that he died a true Chriſtian; for, ſaid the Prieſt, while I explained to him the Paſſion of our Saviour, whom the *Jews* crucified, he cried out; "Oh! had I been there, I would "have revenged his Death, and brought away their "Scalps."

Soon after the Peace was known at *Montreal*, three conſiderable Men of the *Praying Indians* came to *Albany*; they had fine laced Coats given them, and were invited to return to their own Country. They anſwered, that they were young Men, and had not Skill to make a ſuitable Anſwer, and had not their ancient Men to conſult with; but promiſed to communicate the Propoſals to their old Men, and would bring back an Anſwer in the Fall. I find nothing more of this in the Regiſter of *Indian Affairs*, though it might have been of great Conſequence had it been purſued to Purpoſe; but ſuch Matters, where there is not an immediate private Profit,

Profit, are ſeldom purſued by the *Engliſh* with that Care and Aſſiduity, with which they are by the *French*. CHAP. XIII.

While Captain *Schuyler* was in *Canada*, he entered into ſome indiſcreet Diſcourſe with Monſieur *Maricour*, for whom the *Five Nations* had a particular Eſteem, and call *Stowtowiſſe*. Captain *Schuyler*, in aſſerting the Dependency of the *Five Nations* on *New-York*, ſaid, that thoſe Nations were their Slaves. Mr. *Maricour* told this Diſcourſe to an *Onondaga*, with all the Aggravations he could, and added, that it was intirely owing to the *Engliſh* that the Peace was not abſolutely concluded, and that Captain *Schuyler* prevented their Priſoners being reſtored, becauſe he would have them ſent to *Albany*, as being Slaves to the *Engliſh*. That the *French* had no Diſpute with the *Engliſh*, but for the Independency of the *Five Nations*. This indiſcreet Conduct of Captain *Schuyler* was ſo much reſented by the *Five Nations*, that a Deputation of the moſt conſiderable *Sachems* was ſent to *Albany* in *June* 1699, to complain of it; and they ſent at the ſame Time Deputies to *Canada* to conclude the Peace, independently of the *Engliſh*. Theſe Deputies that came to *Albany* were ſo far convinced that the *French* had abuſed them, and how much more it was for their Security to be included in the general Peace with the *Engliſh*, than to have only the *French* Faith for their Security, that they immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger after their Deputies that were gone to *Canada*. Though this Meſſenger reached them too late to ſtop their Proceeding, it convinced the Deputies ſo far of its being for their Intereſt to be joined with the *Engliſh* in the Peace, as they had been in the War, that they inſiſted that the Exchange of Priſoners be made at *Albany*. At the ſame Time the Meſſenger was ſent after their Deputies to *Canada*, Colonel *Peter Schuyler* was

CHAP. XIII.

was sent with others to *Onondaga*, to remove the Prejudices they had received there.

The Count *de Frontenac* died while these Disputes continued. Monsieur *de Callieres*, who succeeded him, put an End to them, by agreeing to send to *Onondaga* to regulate the Exchange of Prisoners there; for which Purpose Monsieur *Maricour*, *Ioncaire*, and the Jesuit *Bruyas*, were sent.

When the *French* Commissioners were come within less than a Mile of *Onondaga* Castle, they put themselves in Order and marched with the *French* Colours carried before them, and with as much Show as they could make. *Decanesora* met them without the Gate, and complimented them with three Strings of Wampum. By the first he wiped away their Tears for the *French* that had been slain in the War. By the second he opened their Mouths, that they might speak freely; that is, promised them Freedom of Speech. By the third he cleaned the Matt, on which they were to sit, from the Blood that had been spilt on both Sides: The Compliment was returned by the Jesuit, then they entered the Fort, and were saluted with a general Discharge of all the fire Arms. They were carried to the best Cabin in the Fort, and there entertained with a Feast. The Deputies of the several Nations not being all arrived, the Jesuit, and Monsieur *Maricour*, passed the Time in visiting and conversing with the *French* Prisoners. The General Council being at last met, the Jesuit made the following Speech, which I take from the Relation the *Five Nations* afterwards made of it to the Earl of *Bellamont*.

"1. I am glad to see the *Five Nations*, and that "some of them went to *Canada*, notwithstanding "*Corlear* forbid them: I am sorry for the Loss of your

" your People killed by the remote *Indians*; I con- CHAP.
" dole their Death, and wipe away the Blood by this XIII.
" Belt.

" 2. The War Kettle boiled ſo long, that it " would have ſcalded all the *Five Nations* had it " continued; but now it is overſet, and turned up- " ſide down, and a firm Peace made.

" 3. I now plant the Tree of Peace and Welfare " at *Onondaga*.

" 4. Keep faſt the Chain you have made with " *Corlear*, for now we have one Heart and one " Intereſt with them; but why is *Corlear* againſt " your correſponding with us, ought we not to " converſe together when we are at Peace and in " Friendſhip?

" 5. Deliver up the *French* Priſoners you have, " and we ſhall deliver not only thoſe of your Na- " tion we have, but all thoſe likewiſe taken by " any of our Allies; and gave a Belt.

" 6. I offer myſelf to you to live with you at " *Onondaga*, to inſtruct you in the Chriſtian Re- " ligion, and to drive away all Sickneſs, Plagues " and Diſeaſes out of your Country, and gave a " third Belt.

" 7. This laſt Belt, he ſaid, is from the *Ron-* " *daxe*, or *French Indians*, to deſire Reſtitution of " the Priſoners taken from them."

The Jeſuit in the Concluſion ſaid; " Why does " not *Corlear* tell you what paſſes between the Go- " vernor of *Canada* and him? He keeps you in " the Dark, while the Governor of *Canada* con- " ceals nothing from his Children. Nor does the " Governor of *Canada* claim your Land, as *Corlear* " does."

The General Council immediately rejected the Belt by which the Jeſuit offered to ſtay with them, ſaying, We have already accepted *Corlear*'s Belt, by which he offers us Paſtors to inſtruct us. *Decane-*

ſora

CHAP. XIII.

ſora added, The Jeſuits have always deceived us, for while they preached Peace, the *French* came and knocked us on the Head. To this the Jeſuit replied, that if he had known that *Corlear* intended to ſend them Paſtors, he would not have offered this Belt.

It is to be obſerved that the *Indian* Council refuſed to hear the *French*, or to give them an Anſwer, but in Preſence of the Commiſſioners from *Albany*.

The *French* Commiſſioners having aſſured the Peace with the *Five Nations*, the Inhabitants of *Canada* eſteemed it the greateſt Bleſſing that could be procured for them from Heaven; for nothing could be more terrible than this laſt War with the *Five Nations*. While this War laſted, the Inhabitants eat their Bread in continual Fear and Trembling. No Man was ſure, when out of his Houſe, of ever returning to it again. While they laboured in the Fields, they were under perpetual Apprehenſions of being killed or ſeized, and carried to the *Indian* Country, there to end their Days in cruel Torments. They many Times were forced to neglect both their Seed Time and Harveſt. The Landlord often ſaw all his Land plundered, his Houſes burnt, and the whole Country ruined, while they thought their Perſons not ſafe in their Fortifications. In ſhort, all Trade and Buſineſs was often at an intire Stand, while Fear, Deſpair, and Miſery appeared in the Faces of the poor Inhabitants.

The *French* Commiſſioners carried ſeveral of the principal *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* back with them, who were received at *Montreal* with great Joy. They were ſaluted by a Diſcharge of all the great Guns round the Place, as they entered. The *French* Allies took this amiſs, and aſked if their Governor was entering. They were told, that it

was

was a Compliment paid to the *Five Nations*, whose *Sachems* were then entering the Town. We perceive, they replied, that Fear makes the *French* shew more Respect to their Enemies, than Love can make them do to their Friends. CHAP. XIII.

Monsieur *de Callieres* assembled all the *French* Allies, (who were then very numerous at *Montreal*) to make the Exchange of Prisoners, and they delivered the Prisoners they had taken, though the *Five Nations* had sent none to be exchanged for them. Thus we see a brave People struggle with every Difficulty, till they can get out of it with Honour; and such People always gain Respect, even from their most inveterate Enemies.

I shall finish this Part by observing, that notwithstanding the *French* Commissioners took all the Pains possible to carry Home the *French*, that were Prisoners with the *Five Nations*, and they had full Liberty from the *Indians*, few of them could be persuaded to return. It may be thought that this was occasioned from the Hardships they had endured in their own Country, under a tyrannical Government and a barren Soil: But this certainly was not the only Reason; for the *English* had as much Difficulty to persuade the People, that had been taken Prisoners by the *French Indians*, to leave the *Indian* Manner of living, though no People enjoy more Liberty, and live in greater Plenty, than the common Inhabitants of *New-York* do. No Arguments, no Intreaties, nor Tears of their Friends and Relations, could persuade many of them to leave their new *Indian* Friends and Acquaintance; several of them that were by the Caressings of their Relations persuaded to come Home, in a little Time grew tired of our Manner of living, and run away again to the *Indians*, and ended their Days with them. On the other Hand, *Indian* Children have been carefully educated among the *English*,

CHAP. XIII.

liſh, cloathed and taught, yet, I think, there is not one Inſtance, that any of theſe, after they had Liberty to go among their own People, and were come to Age, would remain with the *Engliſh*, but returned to their own Nations, and became as fond of the *Indian* Manner of Life as thoſe that knew nothing of a civilized Manner of living. What I now tell of Chriſtian Priſoners among *Indians*, relates not only to what happened at the Concluſion of this War, but has been found true on many other Occaſions.

The End of the SECOND PART.

PAPERS

RELATING TO

An ACT of the ASSEMBLY

OF THE

PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK*,

FOR

Encouragement of the *Indian Trade*, &c. and for prohibiting the ſelling of *Indian Goods* to the *French*, *viz.* of *CANADA*.

I. A PETITION of the Merchants of *London* to His Majeſty againſt the ſaid Act.

II. HIS MAJESTY'S Order in Council, referring the Petition to the Lords Commiſſioners of *Trade* and *Plantation*.

III. EXTRACT of the Minutes of the ſaid Lords, concerning ſome Allegations of the Merchants before them.

IV. The REPORT of the ſaid Lords to His Majeſty on the Merchants Petition, and other Allegations.

V. The REPORT of the Committee of Council of the Province of *New-York*, in Anſwer to the ſaid Petition.

VI. A MEMORIAL concerning the Furr-Trade of *New-York*, by *C. Colden*, Eſq;

TO THE

KING'S Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council,

The Humble Petition and Repreſentation of *Samuel Baker*, *Samuel Storke*, *John Bayeux*, *Richard Jeneway*, *Robert Hackſhaw*, *Joſeph Low*, *Joſeph Paice*, *George Streatfield*, *William Parkin*, and *John Evered*, Merchants of *London*, trading to *New-York*, in behalf of themſelves, and the reſt of the Perſons concern'd in the *New-York* Trade.

SHEWETH,

THAT by an Act paſſed in *New-York* the 19th of *November*, 1720, entitled, *An Act for Encouragement of the* Indian *Trade, and rendering it more beneficial to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian Goods *to the* French, all Trade whatſoever is prohibited in the ſtricteſt Manner, and under the ſevereſt Penalties, between the Inhatants of *New-York* Government, and the *French* of *Canada*, or any Subjects of the *French King*, or any Perſon whatſoever, for or on the behalf of any ſuch Subjects; and which Act was to continue in force for three Years.

That the Reaſons aſſigned in the Preamble of this Act, for the paſſing thereof, are, For that the *French* at *Canada*, by means of *Indian* Goods purchaſed from the Inhabitants of *New-York*, had not only almoſt wholly engroſſed the *Indian Trade* to themſelves,

ſelves, but had, in great meaſure, withdrawn the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and render'd them wavering in their Faith and Allegiance to your Majeſty; and would, if ſuch Trade was not prevented, wholly alienate the Minds of the ſaid *Indians*, which might prove of dangerous Conſequence to the *Engliſh Intereſt* in *America*.

That this Act was ſent home for your Majeſty's royal Conſideration, but your Petitioners do not find that your Majeſty ever ſignified your Allowance or Diſallowance thereof; from whence, and from the Act's being to continue but three Years, your Petitioners humbly conceive the ſame was ſuffered to lie by probationary, to ſee whether the ſaid Act, in its Effects, was really advantageous or prejudicial to the *Britiſh Trade* and *Intereſt* in *America*.

That your Petitioners have received Advice, That the Government of *New-York* either have, or are about paſſing an Act, to revive and continue the ſaid Act for prohibiting all Trade between *New-York* and *Canada*.

Upon which Occaſion, your Petitioners humbly beg leave to repreſent to your Majeſty, That the ſaid Act, tho' in the firſt Intention of it, it might be well deſigned, yet, in its Effects, it has proved very pernicious to the *Britiſh Trade* in general, and to the Intereſt of *New-York* in particular: For, beſides the Nations of *Indians* that are in the *Engliſh* Intereſt, there are very many Nations of *Indians*, who are, at preſent, in the Intereſt of the *French*, and who lie between *New-York*, and the Nations of *Indians* in the *Engliſh Intereſt*; and this Act prohibiting all Trade between *New-York* and the *French* of *Canada*, or any of the Subjects of *France*, the *French*, and their *Indians*, would not permit the *Engliſh Indians* to paſs over by their Forts, ſo as to carry on a free Trade with *New-York*, but pre-

vented their Paſſages, as much as poſſible, whereby that moſt conſiderable and only valuable Branch of Trade from *New-York*, hath, ever ſince the paſſing the ſaid Act, very much leſſened, from the great Difficulties of carrying on any Trade with the *Engliſh Indians*, and the Prohibition of all Trade with the *French*; and all the *Indian Goods* have, by this Act, been raiſed in their Price 25 *l.* to 30 *l.* *per Cent.*

Whereas, on the other hand, this Branch of the *New-York* Trade, by the Diſcouragements brought upon it by this Act, is almoſt wholly engroſſed by the *French*, who have already, by this Act, been encouraged to ſend proper *European Goods* to *Canada*, to carry on this Trade; ſo that ſhould this Act be continued, the *New-York* Trade, which is very conſiderable, muſt be wholly loſt to us, and center in the *French*.

And your Petitioners further beg leave humbly to repreſent, That as they conceive nothing can tend more to the with-drawing the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the *Engliſh Intereſt*, than the Continuance of the ſaid Act, which, in its Effects, reſtrains them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and may, too probably, eſtrange them from the *Engliſh Intereſt*: Whereas by a Freedom of Commerce, and an encourag'd Intercourſe of Trade with the *French*, and their *Indians*, the *Engliſh* Intereſt might, in time, be greatly improved and ſtrengthened among the *Indians* in general, who, by ſuch Latitude of Trade, might be link'd to our Friendſhip in the ſtrongeſt Ties of their own Intereſt, as well as Inclinations.

That therefore, and as the ſaid Act was, in its Effects, ſo plainly deſtructive and prejudicial to the Trade and Intereſt of theſe Kingdoms, and ſo much for the Intereſt of the *French*, and greatly promoted that Miſchief which it was intended to prevent,

Your Petitioners moſt humbly pray your Majeſty, That you would be graciouſly pleaſed to give the neceſſary Directions to your Governour of *New-York*, not to paſs any new Act for the reviving or continuing the ſaid Act prohibiting Trade with the *French* of *Canada*; and that if any ſuch Act, or any Act of the like Tendency, be already paſſed, that the ſame may be repealed. *And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray*, &c.

Samuel Baker,	*J. Bull*,
Rob. Hackſhaw,	*Fra. Wilks*,
Jo. Lloyd,	*Wm. Parkin*,
Sam. Storke,	*John Gilbert*,
J. Bayeux,	*Joſ. Paice*, jun.
Sam. Fitch,	*Rich. Mico*,
Rich. Jeneway,	*Jo. Miranda*,
Joſ. Lowe,	*Geo. Streatfield*,
Aſher Levy,	*John Everet*,
John Paine,	*Thompſon Hayne.*

At the Court at St. James's *the* 30*th Day of* April, 1724.

PRESENT

The KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

UPON Reading this Day at the Board the humble Petition and Repreſentation of *Samuel Baker*, *Samuel Storke*, and ſeveral others, Merchants of *London*, trading to *New-York*, in behalf of themſelves, and the reſt of the Perſons concern'd in the *New-York* Trade, which *Petition* ſets forth, That great Diſcouragements have been brought upon the *Britiſh Trade*, by an Act paſſed in the ſaid Colony of *New York*, the 19th of *November*, 1720, entitled,

entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the* Indian Trade, *and rendering of it more beneficial to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the selling of* Indian Goods *to the* French. And that as the said Act was to continue in force only for three Years, they are informed the Government of *New-York* either have, or are about passing an Act to revive and continue the same: Wherefore they humbly pray, that the Governour of that Colony may be ordered, not to pass any new Act for that purpose; and if any such Act be already pass'd, that it may be repealed.

It is ordered by his Majesty in Council, That the said Petition (a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed) be, and it is hereby referred to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to examine into the same, and report to his Majesty, at this Board, what they conceive fit to be done therein.

Signed,

James Vernon.

Extract of the Minutes of the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the 7th of July, 1724.

MR. *Sharp* attending, as he had been desired, with several *New-York* Merchants, their Lordships took again into Consideration the Order of Council of the 30th of *April*, mentioned in the Minutes of the first of *May* last, referring to the Board their Petition against the Renewing an Act passed in *New-York*, in *November*, 1720, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the* Indian *Trade, and rendering of it more effectual to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the selling of*

Indian *Goods to the* French. And Mr. *Sharp*, in behalf of the ſeveral Merchants, acquainted their Lordſhips, That he conceived this Act, tho' its Intention of gaining the *Indians* to the *Engliſh* Intereſt might be good, would have quite a contrary Effect, becauſe, if the Trade with the *French* was prevented, and the Merchants ſhould diſcontinue that with the *Indians*, (as he was informed they would) the *French* might lay hold of this Opportunity to furniſh themſelves with Goods from *Europe*, and ſupply the Five Nations of *Indians*, and thereby gain them to their Intereſt: And this, by reaſon of their Situation, would not be in the Power of the *Engliſh* to prevent: That they were two or three hundred Leagues diſtant from *Albany*, and that they could not come to trade with the *Engliſh* but by going down the River *St. Laurence*, and from thence through a Lake, which brought them within eighteen Leagues of *Albany*.

And that the *French* having made Settlements along the ſaid River, it would be in their Power, whenever they pleaſed, to cut off that Communication.

That this Act had been ſo great a Diſcouragement to the *Britiſh Trade*, in general, that there had not been, by far, ſo great a Quantity of Beaver, and other Furs, imported into *Great-Britain* ſince the paſſing the ſaid Act, as there was before; nor half the Quantity of *European Goods* exported.

That ſeveral Merchants who had ſent over to *New-York* conſiderable Quantities of *European Goods*, had received Advice from their Correſpondents, That ſhould another Act of the like Nature be paſſed, they could not find a vent for them, and deſired they would ſend no more.

Upon the whole, Mr. *Sharp* deſired, in behalf of the Merchants, that Mr. *Burnet* might be directed not to paſs any Act of the like Nature for the future.

To

To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty;

IN Obedience to your Majeſty's Commands, ſignified to us by your Order in Council of the 30th of *April* laſt, referring to us the Petition of ſeveral Merchants of *London* trading to *New-York*, ſetting forth "The great Diſcouragements that "have been brought upon the *Britiſh Trade* by an "Act paſſed in *New-York* the 19th of *November*, "1720, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of* "*the* Indian Trade, *and rendering of it more bene-* "*ficial to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for* "*prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian Goods *to the* "French. And that as the ſaid Act is now ex- "pir'd, the ſaid Merchants are informed the Go- "vernment of *New-York* either have, or are about "paſſing an Act to revive and continue the ſame; "and therefore pray, that a ſtop may be put "thereto." We humbly take leave to repreſent to your Majeſty,

That we have been attended by the Petitioners, who informed us, that they have found this Act, by Experience, to be ſo great a Diſcouragement to the *Britiſh Trade*, that there has not been, by far, ſo conſiderable a Quantity of Beaver, and other Furs, imported into *Great-Britain*, from *New-York*, ſince the paſſing the ſaid Act, as heretofore, nor half the Quantity of *European Goods* exported thither; in conſequence whereof the Price of Furs is raiſed *Five and Twenty* and *Thirty per Cent.* to the great Prejudice of ſeveral *Britiſh* Manufactures.

They likewiſe affirmed, That it was impracticable to hinder the *French* from ſupplying the *Indians* with *European* Goods: For tho' *New-York* ſhould not furniſh them, the *French* would find another way to be ſupplied therewith, either from

ſome

ſome other of his Majeſty's Plantations, or, it might be, directly from *Europe*. That it was of dangerous Conſequence to force this Trade into a new Channel, many of the Goods which the *Indians* want being as eaſy to be had directly from *France* or *Holland*, as from *Great-Britain*.

They further added, That it was not likely the Act, in queſtion, ſhould produce the Effects expected from it, more particularly that of ſecuring the Five *Indian* Nations firmly to the *Britiſh* Intereſt; becauſe, if the *French* ſhould once get a Supply of the Goods neceſſary for the *Indian* Trade, from any other Place, as the Five *Indian* Nations are ſettled upon the Banks of the River of *St. Lawrence*, directly oppoſite to *Quebeck*, two or three hundred Leagues diſtant from the neareſt *Britiſh* Settlement in *New-York*, the Vicinity of the *French* would furniſh them with the Means of ſupplying even the *Five Nations* with theſe Goods, and conſequently of alienating their Affections from the *Britiſh* Intereſt. And that there was no Proſpect of obtaining a Trade with the *French Indians* by this means, becauſe the *French* would always be able to prevent their Paſſage croſs the Lakes and River of *St. Lawrence* to our Settlements.

Theſe were the moſt material Objections made by the Merchants againſt the Bill.

On the other hand, the Preamble of the Act ſets forth, That it was found by Experience, that the *French* of *Canada*, by means of *Indian* Goods brought from that Province, had not only almoſt wholly engroſſed the *Indian* Trade, but had in great Meaſure, withdrawn the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the Inhabitants of that Province, and rendered them wavering in their Allegiance to your Majeſty; and would, if ſuch Trade were not prevented, altogether alienate the Minds of the ſaid *Indians*, which would prove of dangerous

gerous Conſequence to the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *America*.

And Mr. *Burnet*, your Majeſty's Governour of *New-York*, informs us, That, ſince the paſſing of this Act, ſeveral of the far *Indians* had come to *Albany* to trade; That ſome of them came above one thouſand Miles, and are now incorporated with the *Five Nations*: That he had likewiſe Intelligence of more far *Indians* that deſign'd to come to *Albany*, which he conceives to have been a good Effect proceeding from this Act: And likewiſe adds, That he did not doubt but the Cheapneſs of Goods in *Albany* would induce the *Indians* to trade there, rather than with the *French* at *Montreal*; and that the Traders of *Albany* began to be ſenſible of their Error in ſharing a Trade with the *French*, which they now perceive they can keep wholly to themſelves.

Upon the whole, being doubtful of ſome of the Facts alledged by the Merchants, and conſidering how far the *Britiſh Trade* may be affected by this Act, on the one hand; and how much the Security and Intereſt of your Majeſty's Colonies in *America* may be concerned, on the other, we are humbly of Opinion, That no Directions ſhould be ſent to *New-York*, upon the Subject-Matter of this Act, till Mr. *Burnet* ſhall have been acquainted with the Objections of the Merchants thereto, and his Anſwers and Obſervations received thereupon. For which end, if your Majeſty ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to approve of this our Propoſal, we ſhall forthwith ſend him Copies both of the Merchants Memorial, and of what Objections they have made before us to the Subject-Matter of this Bill.

Which is moſt humbly ſubmitted. Signed,

J. Chetwind, | *R. Plummer*,
T. Pelham, | *Ed. Aſhe*.
M. Bladen,

Whitehall,
July 14, 1724.

The Report of a Committee of the Council held at New-York, November 6, 1724.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

IN Obedience to your Excellency's Commands in Council, the 29th of *October*, referring to us a Petition of ſeveral Merchants in *London*, preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, againſt renewing an Act paſſed in this Province, entitled, *An Act for Encouragement of the* Indian *Trade, and rendering it more effectual to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian *Goods to the* French; as likewiſe the ſeveral Allegations of the ſaid Merchants before the Right Hon. the Lords of Trade and Plantations, we beg Leave to make the following Remarks.

In order to make our Obſervations the more diſtinct and clear, we ſhall gather together the ſeveral Aſſertions of the ſaid Merchants, both in their Petition, and delivered verbally before the Lords of Trade, as to the Situation of this Province, with reſpect to the *French* and *Indian Nations*, and obſerve on them, in the firſt Place, they being the Foundation on which all their other Allegations are grounded. Afterwards we ſhall lay before your Excellency, what we think neceſſary to obſerve on the other parts of the ſaid Petition, in the Order they are in the Petition, or in the Report of the Lords of Trade.

In their geographical Accounts they ſay, "Beſides the Nations of *Indians* that are in the *Engliſh* Intereſt, there are very many Nations of *Indians*, who are at preſent in the Intereſt of the *French*, and who lie between *New-York* and the Nations of *Indians* in the *Engliſh* Intereſt.—— The *French* and their *Indians* would not permit the *Engliſh Indians* to paſs over by their Forts.

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The ſaid Act " Reſtrains them (*the Five Na-*
" *tions*) from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants
" of *New-York*.

" The *Five Indian Nations* are ſettled upon the
" Banks of the River *St. Lawrence*, directly op-
" poſite to *Quebeck*, two or three Hundred Lea-
" gues diſtant from the neareſt *Britiſh* Settlements
" in *New-York*.

" They (*the Five Nations of Indians*) were two
" or three Hundred Leagues diſtant from *Albany*;
" and that they could not come to trade with the
" *Engliſh* but by going down the River *St. Law-*
" *rence*, and from thence through a Lake, which
" brought them within eighteen Leagues of
" *Albany*."

Theſe Things the Merchants have thought it ſafe for them, and conſiſtent with their Duty to his ſacred Majeſty, to ſay in his Majeſty's Preſence, and to repeat them afterwards before the Right Hon. the Lords of Trade, though nothing can be more directly contrary to the Truth. For there are no Nations of *Indians* between *New-York* and the Nations of *Indians* in the *Engliſh Intereſt*, who are now ſix in Number, by the Addition of the *Tuſcaroras*. The *Mohawks* (called *Annies* by the *French*) one of the Five Nations, live on the South-ſide of a Branch of *Hudſon's-River*, (not on the North-ſide, as they are placed in the *French* Maps) and but forty Miles directly Weſt from *Albany*, and within the *Engliſh* Settlements, ſome of the *Engliſh* Farms upon the ſame River being thirty Miles further Weſt.

The *Oneidas* (the next of the Five Nations) lie likewiſe Weſt from *Albany*, near the Head of the *Mohawks-River*, about one Hundred Miles from *Albany*.

The *Onondagas* lie about one Hundred and Thirty Miles Weſt from *Albany*. And the *Tuſcaroras* live partly with the *Oneidas*, and partly with the *Onondagas*.

The

The *Cayugas* are about one hundred and ſixty Miles from *Albany*.

And the *Sennekas* (the furtheſt of all theſe Nations) are not above two hundred and forty Miles from *Albany*, as may appear by Mr. *De L'Iſle*'s Map of *Louiſiane*, who lays down the Five Nations under the Name of *Iroquois*.

And Goods are daily carried from this Province to the *Sennekas*, as well as to thoſe Nations that lie nearer, by Water all the Way, except three Miles, (or in the dry Seaſons, five Miles) where the Traders carry over Land between the *Mohawks-River* and the *Wood Creek*, which runs into the *Oneida-Lake*, without going near either *St. Lawrence-River*, or any of the *Lakes* upon which the *French* paſs, which are entirely out of their Way.

The neareſt *French* Forts or Settlements to *Albany*, are *Chambly* and *Monreal*, both of them lying about North and by Eaſt from *Albany*, and are near two hundred Miles diſtant from it. *Quebeck* lies about three hundred and eighty Miles North-Eaſt from *Albany*. So far is it from being true, that the Five Nations are ſituated upon the Banks of the *River St. Lawrence*, oppoſite to *Quebeck*, that *Albany* lies almoſt directly between *Quebeck* and the *Five Nations*. And to ſay that theſe *Indians* cannot come to trade at *Albany*, but by going down the *River St. Lawrence*, and then into a *Lake* eighteen Leagues from *Albany* (we ſuppoſe they mean *Lake Champlain*) paſſing by the *French* Forts, is to the ſame Purpoſe as if they ſhould ſay, that one cannot go from *London* to *Briſtol*, but by Way of *Edinburgh*.

Before we go on to obſerve other Particulars, we beg Leave further to remark, that it is ſo far from being true, that the *Indians* in the *French* Intereſt, lie between *New-York* and our *Five Nations of Indians*, that ſome of our Nations of *Indians* lie between the *French* and the *Indians*, from whence the

French

French bring the far greateſt Quantity of their Furs: For the *Sennekas* (whom the *French* call *Sonontouons*) are ſituated between *Lake Erie* and *Cataraqui Lake*, (called by the *French Ontario*) near the great Fall of *Jagara*, by which all the *Indians* that live round *Lake Erie*, round the Lake of the *Hurons*, round the Lake of the *Illenois*, or *Michegan*, and round the great *Upper Lake*, generally paſs in their Way to *Canada*. All the *Indians* ſituated upon the Branches of the *Miſiſſippi*, muſt likewiſe paſs by the ſame Place, if they go to *Canada*. And all of them likewiſe in their Way to *Canada*, paſs by our Trading-Place upon the *Cataraqui Lake*, at the Mouth of the *Onondaga River*. The neareſt and ſafeſt Way of carrying Goods upon the *Cataraqui Lake* towards *Canada*, being along the South-ſide of that Lake, (near where our *Indians* are ſettled, and our Trade of late is fixed) and not by the North-ſide and *Cataraqui*, or *Frontinac Fort*, where the *French* are ſettled.

Now that we have repreſented to your Excellency, that not one Word of the Geography of theſe Merchants is true, upon which all their Reaſoning is founded, it might ſeem needleſs to trouble your Excellency with any further Remarks, were it not to ſhow with what earneſtneſs they are promoting the *French Intereſt*, to the Prejudice of all his Majeſty's Colonies in *North America*, and that they are not aſhamed of aſſerting any Thing for that End, even in the Royal Preſence.

Firſt, They ſay, "That by the Act paſſed in "this Province, entitled, *An Act for Encourage-* "*ment of the* Indian *Trade*, *&c.* All Trade what- "ſoever is prohibited in the ſtricteſt Manner, and "under the ſevereſt Penalties, between the Inha- "bitants of *New-York* Government, and the "*French* of *Canada*."

This is not true, for only carrying Goods to the *French*, which are proper for the *Indian Trade*, is prohibited.

prohibited. The Trade as to other Things, is left in the ſame State it was before that Act was made, as it will appear to any Perſon that ſhall read it: And there are yearly large Quantities of other Goods openly carried to *Canada*, without any Hindrance from the Government of *New-York*. Whatever may be ſaid of the Severity and Penalties in that Act, they are found inſufficient to deter ſome from carrying Goods clandeſtinely to the *French*; and the Legiſlature of this Province are convinced that no Penalties can be too ſevere, to prevent a Trade which puts the Safety of all his Majeſty's Subjects of *North America* in the greateſt Danger.

Their next Aſſertion is, *All the* Indian *Goods have by this Act, been raiſed* 25 l. *to* 30 l. *per Cent.* This is the only Allegation in the whole Petition, that there is any Ground for. Nevertheleſs, though the common Channel of Trade cannot be altered without ſome Detriment to it in the Beginning, we are aſſured from the Cuſtom-houſe Books, that there has been every Year, ſince the paſſing of this Act, more Furs exported from *New-York*, than in the Year immediately before the paſſing of this Act. It is not probable, that the greateſt Difference between the Exportation any Year before this Act, and any Year ſince, could ſo much alter the Price of Beaver, as it is found to be this laſt Year. Beaver is carried to *Britain* from other Parts beſides *New-York*, and it is certain that the Price of Beaver is not ſo much altered here by the Quantity in our Market, as by the Demand for it in *Britain*. But as we cannot be ſo well informed here, what occaſions Beaver to be in greater Demand in *Britain*, we muſt leave that to be enquired after in *England*. However, we are fully ſatisfied that it will be found to be for very different Reaſons from what the Merchants alledge.

The Merchants go on and ſay, *Whereas on the other Hand, this Branch of the* New-York *Trade, by*

by the Diſcouragements brought upon it by this Act, is almoſt wholly engroſſed by the French, *who have already by this Act, been encouraged to ſend proper* European Goods *to* Canada, *to carry on this Trade, ſo that ſhould this Act be continued, the* New-York *Trade which is very conſiderable, muſt be wholly loſt to us, and center in the* French.———*Though* New-York *ſhould not furniſh them, the* French *would find another Way to be ſupplied therewith, either from ſome other of his Majeſty's Plantations, or it might be directly from* Europe.———*Many of the Goods which the* Indians *want being as eaſy to be had directly from* France *or* Holland, *as from* Great-Britain.

This is eaſily anſwered, by informing your Excellency, that the principal of the Goods proper for the *Indian Market* are only of the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, or of the *Britiſh Plantations*, *viz.* Strouds, or Stroud-Waters, and other Woollens, and Rum. The *French* muſt be obliged to buy all their Woollens (the Strouds eſpecially) in *England*, and thence carry them to *France*, in order to their Tranſportation to *Canada*. The Voyage to *Quebeck* through the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, is well known to be the moſt dangerous of any in the World, and only practicable in the Summer Months. The *French* have no Commodities in *Canada*, by reaſon of the Cold and Barrenneſs of the Soil, proper for the *Weſt-India* Markets, and therefore have no Rum but by Veſſels from *France*, that touch at their Iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*. *New-York* has, by Reaſon of its Situation, both as to the Sea and the *Indians*, every Way the Advantage of *Canada*. The *New-York* Veſſels make always two Voyages in the Year from *England*, one in Summer and another in Winter, and ſeveral Voyages in a Year to the *Weſt-Indies*. It is manifeſt therefore, that it is not in the Power of the *French* to import any Goods near ſo cheap to *Canada*, as they are imported to *New-York*.

But to put this out of all Controverſy, we need only obſerve to your Excellency, That Strouds (without which no conſiderable Trade can be carried on with the *Indians*) are ſold at *Albany* for 10*l.* a Piece: They were ſold at *Monreal* before this Act took Place, at 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* and now they are ſold there for 25*l.* and upwards: Which is an evident Proof, that the *French* have not, in theſe four Years Time (during the Continuance of this Act) found out any other Way to ſupply themſelves with Strouds, and likewiſe that they cannot trade without them, ſeeing they buy them at ſo extravagant a Price.

It likewiſe appears, that none of the neighbouring Colonies have been able to ſupply the *French* with theſe Goods; and thoſe that know the Geography of the Country, know it is impracticable to do it at any tolerable Rate, becauſe they muſt carry their Goods ten Times further by Land than we need to do.

We are likewiſe aſſured, that the Merchants of *Monreal* lately told Mr. *Vaudreuil* their Governor, that if the Trade from *Albany* be not by ſome Means or other encouraged, they muſt abandon that Settlement. We have Reaſon therefore to ſuſpect, that theſe Merchants (at leaſt ſome of them) have been practiſed upon by the *French* Agents in *London*; for no doubt, the *French* will leave no Method untried to defeat the preſent Deſigns of this Government, ſeeing they are more afraid of the Conſequences of this Trade between *New-York* and the *Indians*, than of all the warlike Expeditions that ever were attempted againſt *Canada*.

But to return to the Petitioners, *They conceive nothing can tend more to the withdrawing the Affections of the* Five Nations of Indians *from the* Engliſh Intereſt, *than the Continuance of the ſaid Act, which in its Effects reſtrains them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of* New-York, *and may too probably, eſtrange*

eſtrange them from the Engliſh Intereſt, *whereas by a Freedom of Commerce, and an encouraged Intercourſe of Trade with the* French *and their* Indians, *the* Engliſh *Intereſt might in Time, be greatly improved and ſtrengthened.*

It ſeems to us a ſtrange Argument to ſay, that an Act, the whole Purport of which is to encourage our own People to go among the *Indians*, and to draw the far *Indians* through our *Indian Country* to *Albany* (and which has truly produced theſe Effects) would on the contrary, reſtrain them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and may too probably eſtrange them from the *Engliſh Intereſt*, and therefore that it would be much wiſer in us to make uſe of the *French*, to promote the *Engliſh Intereſt*; and for which End, we ought to encourage a free Intercourſe between them and our *Indians*. The reverſe of this is exactly true, in the Opinion of our *Five Nations*; who in all their publick Treaties with this Government, have repreſented againſt this Trade, as *The Building the* French *Forts with* Engliſh *Strouds*: That the encouraging a Freedom of Commerce with our *Indians*, and the *Indians* round them, who muſt paſs through their Country to *Albany*, would certainly increaſe both the *Engliſh Intereſt* and theirs, among all the Nations to the Weſtward of them; and that the carrying the *Indian Market* to *Monreal* in *Canada*, draws all the far *Indians* thither.

The laſt Thing we have to take Notice, is what the Merchants aſſerted before the Lords of Trade, *viz. That there has not been half the Quantity of* European *Goods exported ſince the paſſing of this Act, that uſed to be.*

We are well aſſured, that this is no better grounded than the other Facts they aſſert with the ſame Poſitiveneſs. For it is well known almoſt to every Perſon in *New-York*, that there has not been a leſs, but rather a greater Quantity of *European Goods*

imported into this Place, ſince the paſſing of this Act, than was at any Time before it, in the ſame Space of Time. As this appears by the Manifeſts in the Cuſtom-houſe here, the ſame may likewiſe be eaſily proved by the Cuſtom-houſe Books in *London*.

As all the Arguments of the Merchants run upon the ill Effects this Act has had upon the Trade and the Minds of the *Indians*, every one of which we have ſhown to be aſſerted without the leaſt Foundation to ſupport them, there nothing now remains, but to ſhow the good Effects this Act has produced, which are ſo notorious in this Province, that we know not one Perſon that now opens his Mouth againſt the Act.

Before this Act paſſed, none of the People of this Province travelled into the *Indian Countries* to trade: We have now above forty young Men, who have been ſeveral Times as far as the Lakes a trading, and thereby become well acquainted, not only with the Trade of the *Indians*, but likewiſe with their Manners and Languages; and theſe have returned with ſuch large Quantities of Furs, that greater Numbers are reſolved to follow their Example. So that we have good Reaſon to hope, that in a little Time the *Engliſh* will draw the whole *Indian* Trade of the Inland Countries to *Albany*, and into the Country of the *Five Nations*. This Government has built a publick Trading-houſe upon *Cataraqui Lake*, at *Irondequat* in the *Sennekas* Land, and another is to be built next Spring, at the Mouth of the *Onondagas River*. All the far *Indians* paſs by theſe Places, in their Way to *Canada*; and they are not above half ſo far from the *Engliſh* Settlements, as they are from the *French*.

So far is it from being true what the Merchants ſay, *That the* French *Forts interrupt all Communication between the* Indians *and the* Engliſh, that if theſe Places be well ſupported, as they eaſily can be from

our Settlements, in caſe of a Rupture with the *French*, it will be in the Power of this Province, to intercept the greateſt Part of the Trade between *Canada* and the *Indians*, round the Lakes and the Branches of the *Miſiſſippi*.

Since this Act paſſed, many Nations have come to *Albany* to trade, and ſettle Peace and Friendſhip, whoſe Names had not ſo much as been heard of among us.

In the Beginning of *May* 1723, a Nation of *Indians* came to *Albany* ſinging and dancing, with their Calumets before them, as they always do when they come to any Place where they have not been before. We do not find that the Commiſſioners of *Indian* Affairs, were able to inform themſelves what Nation this was.

Towards the End of the ſame Month, eighty Men, beſides Women and Children, came to *Albany* in the ſame Manner. Theſe had one of our Five Nations with them for an Interpreter, by whom they informed the Commiſſioners, that they were of a great Nation, called *Nehkereages*, conſiſting of ſix Caſtles and Tribes; and that they lived near a Place called by the *French Miſſilimakinak*, between the Upper Lake and the Lake of the *Hurons*. Theſe *Indians* not only deſired a free Commerce, but likewiſe to enter into a ſtrict League of Friendſhip with us and our *Six Nations*, that they might be accounted the *Seventh Nation* in the League; and being received accordingly, they left their Calumet as a Pledge of their Fidelity.

In *June* another Nation arrived, but from what Part of the Continent we have not learned.

In *July* the *Twightwies* arrived, and brought an *Indian* Interpreter of our Nations with them, who told, that they were called by the *French Miamies*, and that they live upon one of the Branches of the River *Miſiſſippi*.

At the ſame Time ſome of the *Tahſagrondie Indians*, who live between *Lake Erie* and the Lake of the *Hurons*, near a *French* Settlement, did come and renew their League with the *Engliſh*, nor durſt the *French* hinder them.

In *July* this Year, another Nation came, whoſe Situation and Name we know not. And in *Auguſt* and *September*, ſeveral Parties of the ſame *Indians* that had been here laſt Year. But the greateſt Numbers of theſe far *Indians* have been met this Year, in the *Indian* Country by our Traders, every one of them endeavouring to get before another, in order to reap the Profits of ſo advantagious a Trade, which has all this Summer long, kept about forty Traders conſtantly employed, in going between our Trading-places in our *Indian* Country, and *Albany*.

All theſe Nations of *Indians* who came to *Albany* ſaid, that the *French* had told them many ſtrange Stories of the *Engliſh*, and did what they could to hinder their coming to *Albany*, but that they had reſolved to break through by Force. The Difference on this Score between the *Tahſagrondie Indians* and the *French* (who have a Fort and Settlement there, called by them *Le Detroit*) roſe to that Height this Summer, that Mr. *Tonti* who commanded there, thought it proper to retire, and return to *Canada* with many of his Men.

We are for theſe Reaſons well aſſured, that this Year there will be more Beaver exported for *Great-Britain*, than ever was from this Province in one Year; and that if the Cuſtom-houſe Books at *London* be looked into, it will be found, that there will be a far greater Quantity of Goods for the *Indians*, (Strouds eſpecially) ſent over next Spring, than ever was at any one Time to this Province; for the Merchants here tell us, that they have at this Time, ordered more of theſe Goods, than ever was done at any one Time before.

These Matters of Fact prove beyond Contradiction, that this Act has been of the greatest Service to *New-York*, in making us acquainted with many Nations of *Indians*, formerly entirely unknown and Strangers to us; in withdrawing them from their Dependance upon the *French*, and in uniting them to *us* and *our Indians*, by Means of Trade and mutual Offices of Friendship. Of what great Consequence this may be to the *British Interest* in general, as to Trade, is apparent to any Body. It is no less apparent likewise, that it is of the greatest Consequence to the Safety of all the *British Colonies* in *North-America*. We feel too sensibly, the ill Effects of the *French Interest* in the present War betwixt *New-England*, and only one Nation of *Indians* supported by the *French*. Of what dismal Consequences then might it be, if the *French* should be able to influence in the same Manner, so many and such numerous *Nations*, as lie to the Westward of *this Province*, *Pensylvania* and *Maryland?* On the other Hand, if all these *Nations* (who assert their own Freedom, and declare themselves Friends to those that supply them best with what they want) be brought to have a Dependance upon the *English* (as we have good Reason to hope, in a short Time they will) the *French* of *Canada*, in case of a War, must be at the Mercy of the *English*.

To these Advantages must be added, that many of our young Men having been induced by this Act to travel among the *Indians*, they learn their Manners, their Languages, and the Situation of all their Countries, and become inured to all Manner of Fatigues and Hardships, and a great many more being resolved to follow their Example; these young Men, in case of a War with the *Indians*, will be of ten Times the Service, that the same Number of the common Militia can be of.

The Effects of this Act have likewise so much quieted the Minds of the People, with Respect to

the Security of the Frontiers, that our Settlements are now extended above thirty Miles further West towards the *Indian* Countries, than they were before it paſſed.

The only Thing that now remains to anſwer, is an Objection which we ſuppoſe may be made, *What can induce the Merchants of* London *to petition againſt an Act, which will be really ſo much for their Intereſt in the End?* The Reaſon is in all Probability, becauſe they only conſider their preſent Gain; and that they are not at all concerned for the Safety of this Country, in encouraging the moſt neceſſary Undertaking, if they apprehend their Profit for two or three Years may be leſſened by it. This Inclination of the Merchants has been ſo notorious, that few Nations at War with their Neighbours, have been able to reſtrain them from ſupplying their Enemies with Ammunition and Arms. The Count *D'Eſtrade*, in his Letters in 1638 ſays, That when the *Dutch* were beſieging *Antwerp*, one *Beiland*, who had loaded four Fly-boats with Arms and Powder for *Antwerp*, being taken up by the Prince of *Orange*'s Order, and examined at *Amſterdam*, ſaid boldly, *That the Burghers of* Amſterdam *had a Right to trade every where: That he could name a Hundred that were Factors for the Merchants at* Antwerp, *and that he was one. That Trade cannot be interrupted, and that for his Part he was very free to own, that if to get any Thing by Trade it were neceſſary to paſs through Hell, he would venture to burn his Sails.* When this Principle ſo common to Merchants, is conſidered, and that ſome in this Place have got Eſtates by trading many Years to *Canada*, it is not to be wondered that they have acted as Factors for *Canada* in this Affair, and that they have tranſmitted ſuch Accounts to their Correſpondents in *London*, as are conſiſtent with the Truſt repoſed in them by the Merchants of *Canada*.

In

In the laſt Place, we are humbly of Opinion, that it may be proper to print the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, and their Allegations before the Lords of Trade, together with the Anſwers your Committee has made thereto, in Vindication of the Legiſlature of this Province, of which we have the Honour to be a Part, if your Excellency ſhall approve of our Anſwers: That what we have ſaid may be expoſed to the Examination of every one in this Place, where the Truth of the Matters of Fact is beſt known; and that the Correſpondents of theſe Merchants may have the moſt publick Notice to reply, if they ſhall think it proper, or to diſown in a publick Manner, that they are the Authors of ſuch groundleſs Informations.

All which is unanimouſly and humbly ſubmitted by

Your Excellency's

Moſt obedient humble Servants,

R. Walter, | *Cadwallader Colden,*
Rip Van Dam, | *Ja. Alexander,*
John Barberie, | *Abraham van Horn.*
Fr. Harriſon,

A Memorial concerning the Furr-Trade of the Province of New-York.

Preſented to his Excellency William Burnet, *Eſq; Captain General and Governor,* &c. *by* Cadwallader Colden, *Surveyor General of the ſaid Province, the* 10*th of* November 1724.

IT has of late been generally believed, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *New-York* are ſo advantageouſly ſituated, with reſpect to the *Indian Trade*, and

and enjoy ſo many Advantages as to Trade in general, that it is in their Power not only to rival the *French* of *Canada*, who have almoſt entirely engroſſed the Furr-Trade of *America*, but that it is impoſſible for the *French* to carry on that Trade in Competition with the People of this Province. The enquiring into the Truth of this Propoſition, may not only be of ſome Conſequence, as to the Riches and Honour of the *Britiſh Nation*, (for it is well known how valuable the Furr-Trade of *America* is) but likewiſe as to the Safety of all the *Britiſh Colonies* in *North-America*. *New-France* (as the *French* now claim) extends from the Mouth of the River *Miſiſſippi*, to the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence*, by which the *French* plainly ſhow their Intention of encloſing the *Britiſh Settlements*, and cutting us off from all Commerce with the numerous Nations of *Indians*, that are every where ſettled over the vaſt Continent of *North-America*. The *Engliſh* in *America* have too good Reaſon to apprehend ſuch a Deſign, when they ſee the *French* King's Geographer publiſh a Map, by which he has ſet Bounds to the *Britiſh Empire* in *America*, and has taken in many of the *Engliſh Settlements* both in *South-Carolina* and *New-York*, within theſe Boundaries of *New-France*. And the good Services they intend us, with the *Indians*, but too plainly appears at this Day, by the *Indian War* now carried on againſt *New-England*.

I have therefore for ſome Time paſt, endeavoured to inform myſelf, from the Writings of the *French*, and from others who have travelled in *Canada*, or among the *Indians*, how far the People of this Province may carry on the *Indian Trade*, with more Advantage than the *French* can; or what Diſadvantages they labour under, more than the *French* do. As all Endeavours for the good of ones Country are excuſable, I do not doubt but my Intention in this will be acceptable to your Excellency, though I be not capable of treating the Subject as it deſerves.

I

I ſhall begin with *Canada*, and conſider what Advantages they have either by their Situation, or otherwiſe. *Canada* is ſituated upon the River of *St. Lawrence*, by which the five great Lakes (which may properly be called, *The five Inland Seas* of *North-America*) empty themſelves into the Ocean. The Mouth of this great River is in the Lat. of 50 Degrees, overagainſt the Body of *Newfoundland*. It riſes from the *Cataracui Lake*, (the Eaſtermoſt of the five great Lakes) about the Lat. of 44 Degrees, and runs from thence about North-Eaſt to the Ocean, and is about nine hundred Miles in Length, from that Lake to the Ocean. The five great Lakes which communicate with each other, and with this River, extend about one thouſand Miles Weſtward, further into the Continent. So far the *French* have already diſcovered, and their Diſcoveries make it probable, that an Inland Paſſage may be found to the *South-Sea*, by the Rivers which run into theſe Lakes, and Rivers which run into the *South-Sea*.

The Method of carrying Goods upon the Rivers of *North-America*, into all the ſmall Branches, and over Land, from the Branches of one River to the Branches of another, was learned from the *Indians*, and is the only Method practicable through ſuch large Foreſts and Deſerts as the Traders paſs thro', in carrying from one Nation to another, it is this; the *Indians* make a long narrow Boat, made of the Bark of the Birch-tree, the Parts of which they join very neatly. One of theſe Canoes that can carry a Dozen Men, can itſelf be eaſily carried upon two Men's Shoulders; ſo that when they have gone as far by Water as they can (which is further than is eaſily to be imagined, becauſe their loaded Canoes don't ſink ſix Inches into the Water) they unload their Canoes, and carry both Goods and Canoes upon their Shoulders over Land, into the neareſt Branch of the River they intend to follow.

Thus,

Thus, the *French* have an eaſy Communication with all the Countries bordering upon the River of *St. Lawrence*, and its Branches, with all the Countries bordering upon theſe In-land Seas, and the Rivers which empty themſelves into theſe Seas, and can thereby carry their Burdens of Merchandize thro' all theſe large Countries, which could not by any other means than Water-carriage be carried thro' ſo vaſt a Tract of Land.

This, however, but half finiſhes the View the *French* have, as to their Commerce in *North-America*. Many of the Branches of the River *Miſiſſippi* come ſo near to the Branches of ſeveral of the Rivers which empty themſelves into the great Lakes, that in ſeveral Places there is but a ſhort Land-Carriage from the one to the other. As ſoon as they have got into the River *Miſiſſippi*, they open to themſelves as large a Field for Traffick in the ſouthern Parts of *North-America*, as was before mentioned with reſpect to the northern Parts. If one conſiders the Length of this River, and its numerous Branches, he muſt ſay, *That by means of this River, and the Lakes, there is opened to his View ſuch a Scene of in-land Navigation as cannot be parallel'd in any other Part of the World.*

The *French* have, with much Induſtry, ſettled ſmall Colonies, and built ſtockaded Forts at all the conſiderable Paſſes between the Lakes, except between *Cataracui Lake* (called by the *French Ontario*) and *Lake Erie*, one of our Five Nations of *Indians*, whom we call *Sennekas*, (and the *French Sonontouans*) having hitherto refuſed them leave to erect any Buildings there.

The *French* have been indefatigable in making Diſcoveries, and carrying on their Commerce with Nations, of whom the *Engliſh* know nothing but what they ſee in the *French* Maps and Books. The Barrenneſs of the Soil, and the Coldneſs of the Climate of *Canada*, obliges the greateſt number of

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the Inhabitants to ſeek their living by travelling among the *Indians*, or by trading with thoſe that do travel. The Governor, and other Officers, have but a ſcanty Allowance from the King, and could not ſubſiſt were it not by the Perquiſites they have from this Trade; neither could their Prieſts find any means to ſatisfy their Ambition and Luxury without it: So that all Heads and Hands are employ'd to advance it, and the Men of beſt Parts think it the ſureſt way to advance themſelves by travelling among the *Indians*, and learning their Languages; even the Bigotry and Enthuſiaſm of ſome hot Heads has not been a little uſeful in advancing this Commerce; for that Government having prudently turn'd the Edge of the Zeal of ſuch hot Spirits upon converting the *Indians*, many of them have ſpent their Lives under the greateſt Hardſhips, in endeavouring to gain the *Indians* to their Religion, and to love the *French Nation*, while, at the ſame time, they are no leſs induſtrious to repreſent the *Engliſh* as the *Enemies of Mankind*. So that the whole Policy of that Government, both civil and religious, is admirably turn'd to the general Advancement of this Trade. Indeed the Art and Induſtry of the *French*, eſpecially that of their religious Miſſions, has ſo far prevail'd upon all the *Indians* in *North-America*, that they are every where directed by *French Councils*. Even our own *Five Nations*, (the *Iroquois*) who formerly were mortal Enemies of the *French*, and have always liv'd in the ſtricteſt Amity with the *Engliſh*, have, of late, (by the Practices of the *French Prieſts*) been ſo far gain'd, that ſeveral of the *Mohawks*, who live neareſt the *Engliſh*, have left their Habitations, and are gone to ſettle near *Monreal* in *Canada*; and all the reſt diſcover a Dread of the *French Power*. That much of this is truly owing to the *Prieſts*, appears from many of the Sachems of the *Iroquois* wearing Crucifixes when they come to *Albany*: And thoſe

Mohawk

Mohawk Indians that are gone to *Canada*, are now commonly known, both to the *French* and *Engliſh*, by the Name of *The Praying Indians*, it being cuſtomary for them to go through the Streets of *Monreal* with their Beads, praying and begging Alms.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, the *French* labour under Difficulties that no Art or Induſtry can remove. The Mouth of the River of *St. Lawrence*, and more eſpecially the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, lies ſo far North, and is thereby ſo often ſubject to tempeſtuous Weather and thick Fogs, that the Navigation there is very dangerous, and never attempted but during the Summer Months. The Wideneſs of this Bay, together with the many ſtrong Currents that run in it, the many Shelves, and ſunken Rocks that are every where ſpread over both the Bay and River, and the want of Places for anchoring in the Bay, all increaſe the Danger of this Navigation; ſo that a Voyage to *Canada* is juſtly eſteem'd much more dangerous than to any other Part of *America*. The many Shipwrecks that happen in this Navigation, are but too evident Proofs of the Truth of this, particularly the Miſcarriage of the laſt Expedition againſt *Canada*. The Channel is ſo difficult, and the Tides ſo ſtrong, that after their Shipping get into the River, they never attempt to ſail in the Night, tho' the Wind be fair, and the Weather good. Theſe Difficulties are ſo conſiderable, that the *French* never attempt above one Voyage in a Year to *Europe*, or the *Weſt-Indies*, tho' it be really nearer *Europe* than any of the *Engliſh Colonies*, where the Shipping that conſtantly uſe the Trade, always make two Voyages in the Year.

The Navigation between *Quebeck* and *Monreal* is likewiſe very dangerous and difficult: The Tide riſes about 18 or 20 Feet at *Quebeck*, which occaſions ſo ſtrong a Stream, that a Boat of ſix Oars cannot make way againſt it: The River in many Places very wide, and the Channel at the ſame time narrow

narrow and crooked; there are many Shelves and ſunken Rocks, ſo that the beſt Pilots have been deceived; for which reaſon the Veſſels that carry Goods to *Monreal* are always obliged to anchor before Night, tho' both Wind and Tide be fair. The Flood goes no further than *Trois Rivieres*, half way to *Monreal*, and about ninety Miles from *Quebeck*: After they paſs this Place they have a ſtrong Stream always againſt them, which requires a fair Wind and a ſtrong Gale to carry the Veſſels againſt the Stream. And they are obliged in this Part of the River, as well as under the *Trois Rivieres*, to come to an anchor at Night, though the Wind be good. Theſe Difficulties make the common Paſſages take up three or four Weeks, and ſometimes ſix Weeks; tho' if they have the chance of a Wind to continue ſo long, they may run it in five or ſix Days.

After they paſs *Monreal* they have a ſtrong Stream againſt them till they come near the Lakes; ſo that in all that, which is about one hundred and fifty Miles in Length, they force their Canoes forward with ſetting Poles, or drag them with Ropes along ſhoar; and at five or ſix different Places in that way the River falls over Rocks with ſuch Force, that they are obliged to unload their Canoes, and carry them upon their Shoulders. They never make this Voyage from *Monreal* to *Cataracui* in leſs than twenty Days, and frequently, twice that Time is neceſſary.

Now we are come ſo far as the Lake, my Deſign leads me no further, for at this Lake all the *far Indians*, that go to *Canada*, muſt paſs by our Traders. And from thence the Road to the *Indian Countries* is the ſame from *Albany* that it is from *Monreal*.

Beſides theſe Difficulties in the Tranſportation, the *French* labour under greater in the purchaſing of the principal Goods proper for the *Indian Market*; for the moſt conſiderable and moſt valuable

Part of their Cargo consists in *Strouds*, *Duffils*, *Blankets*, and other *Woollens*, which are bought at a much cheaper Rate in *England* than in *France*. The *Strouds* (which the *Indians* value more than any other Cloathing) are only made in *England*, and must be transported into *France* before they can be carried to *Canada*. *Rum* is another considerable Branch of the *Indian Trade*, which the *French* have not, by reason they have no Commodities in *Canada* fit for the *West India* Market. This they supply with *Brandy*, at a much dearer Rate than Rum can be purchased at *New-York*, tho' of no more Value with the *Indians*. Generally, all the Goods used in the *Indian Trade*, except *Gun-Powder*, and a few Trinkets, are sold at *Monreal* for twice their Value at *Albany*. To this likewise must be added, the necessity they are under of laying the whole Charge of supporting their Government on the *Indian Trade*. I am not particularly informed of their Duties or Imposts, but I am well assured, that they commonly give six or seven hundred Livres for a Licence for one Canoe, in proportion to her Largeness, to go with her Loading into the *Indian Country* to trade.

I shall next consider the Advantages the Inhabitants of *New-York* have in carrying on this Trade. In the *first* place, the Ships that constantly use the Trade to *England*, perform their Voyage to and from *London* twice every Year; and those that go to *Bristol* (the Port from whence the greatest part of the Goods for the *Indian Trade* are exported) frequently return in four Months. These Goods are bought much cheaper in *England* than in *France*: They are transported in less Time, with less Charge, and much less Risque, as appears by the *Premio* for Insurance between *London* and *New-York*, being only *Two per Cent*. Goods are easily carried from *New-York* to *Albany*, up *Hudson's River*, the Distance being only 140 Miles, the River very strait all the way, and bold, and very free from Sand-

banks,

banks, as well as Rocks; so that the Vessels always sail as well by Night as by Day, and have the Advantage of the Tide upwards as well as downwards, the Flood flowing above *Albany*. It may therefore be safely concluded, that all sorts of Goods can be carried to *Albany* at a cheaper Rate than they can be to *Quebeck*, which is also three times further from the *Indian Country* than *Albany* is. To put the Truth of this out of all dispute, I need only observe what is well known both at *New-York* and *Albany*, *viz.* That almost all the Strouds carried by the *French* into the *Indian Countries*, as well as large Quantities of other Goods, for the Use of the *French* themselves, are carried from *Albany* to *Monreal*. There has been an Account kept of nine hundred Pieces of Strouds transported thither in one Year, besides other Commodities of very considerable Value. The Distance between *Albany* and *Monreal* is about two hundred Miles, all by Water, except twelve Miles between *Hudson*'s *River* and the *Wood-Creek*, where they carry their Bark Canoes over Land, and about sixteen Miles between *Chambly* and *La Prairie*, over-against *Monreal*. And tho' the Passage be so short and easy, these Goods are generally sold at double their Value in *Albany*.

But as this Path has been thought extremely prejudicial to the Interest of this Colony, I shall leave it, and go on to another, that leads directly from *Albany* into the *Cataracui* or *Ontario Lake*, without going near any of the *French* Settlements.

From *Albany* the *Indian Traders* commonly carry their Goods sixteen Miles over Land, to the *Mohawks River* at *Schenechtady*, the Charge of which Carriage is *Nine Shillings New-York* Money, or *Five Shillings Sterling* each Waggon-Load. From *Schenechtady* they carry them in Canoes up the *Mohawks River*, to the Carrying-place between the *Mohawks River*, and the River which runs into the *Oneida Lake*; which Carrying-place between is only three

Miles long, except in very dry Weather, when they are obliged to carry them two Miles further. From thence they go with the Current down the *Onondaga River* to the *Cataracui Lake*. The Diſtance between *Albany* and the *Cataracui Lake* (this Way) is nearly the ſame with that between *Albany* and *Monreal*; and likewiſe with that between *Monreal* and the *Cataracui Lake*, and the Paſſage much eaſier than the laſt, becauſe the Stream of the *Mohawks River* is not near ſo ſtrong as the *Cataracui River* between the *Lake* and *Monreal*, and there is no Fall in the River, ſave one ſhort one; whereas there are (as I have ſaid) at leaſt five in the *Cataracui River*, where the Canoes muſt be unloaded. Therefore it plainly follows, that the *Indian Goods* may be carried at as cheap a Rate from *Albany* to the *Cataracui Lake*, as from *Albany* to *Monreal*. So that the People of *Albany* plainly ſave all the Charge of carrying Goods two hundred Miles from *Monreal* to that Part of the *Cataracui Lake*, which the *French* have to carry before they bring them to the ſame Place from *Monreal*, beſides the Advantage which the *Engliſh* have in the Price of their Goods.

I have ſaid, That when we are in the *Cataracui Lake*, we are upon the Level with the *French*, becauſe here we can meet with all the *Indians* that deſign to go to *Monreal*. But beſides this Paſſage by the *Lakes*, there is a River which comes from the Country of the *Sennekas*, and falls into the *Onondaga River*, by which we have an eaſy Carriage into that Country, without going near the *Cataracui Lake*. The Head of this River goes near to *Lake Erie*, and probably may give a very near Paſſage into that Lake, much more advantageous than the Way the *French* are obliged to take by the great Fall of *Jagara*, becauſe narrow Rivers are much ſafer for Canoes than the Lakes, where they are obliged to go aſhore if there be any Wind upon the Water. But as this Paſſage depends upon a

further

further Discovery, I shall say nothing more of it at this time.

Whoever then considers these Advantages *New-York* has of *Canada*, in the first buying of their Goods, and in the safe, speedy, and cheap Transportation of them from *Britain* to the *Lakes*, free of all manner of Duty or Imposts, will readily agree with me, that the Traders of *New-York* may sell their Goods in the *Indian Countries* at half the Price the People of *Canada* can, and reap twice the Profit they do. This will admit of no Dispute with those that know that Strouds (the Staple *Indian Commodity*) this Year are sold for *Ten Pounds* apiece at *Albany*, and at *Monreal* for *Twenty-five Pounds*, notwithstanding the great Quantity of Strouds said to be brought directly into *Quebeck* from *France*, and the great Quantities that have been clandestinely carried from *Albany*. It cannot therefore be denied that it is only necessary for the Traders of *New-York* to apply themselves heartily to this Trade, in order to bring it wholly into their own Hands; for in every thing besides Diligence, Industry, and enduring Fatigues, the *English* have much the Advantage of the *French*. And all the *Indians* will certainly buy, where they can, at the cheapest Rate.

It must naturally be objected, *That if these things are true, how is it possible that the Traders of* New-York *should neglect so considerable and beneficial Trade for so long time?*

In answering this Objection, I shall show the Difficulties *New-York* has labour'd under, by giving a short History of the Country, so far as it relates to this Trade. Which Method, I think, can be liable to the least Objection, and put the whole in the truest Light.

When this Country (the Province of *New-York*) came first under the Crown of *Great-Britain*, our *Five Nations* of *Indians* were mortal Enemies of the *French* at *Canada*, and were in a continual War with

them, and all the *Nations* of *Indians* round the Lakes; ſo that then it was not ſafe for the *Engliſh* to travel further than the Countries of the *Five Nations*; nor would our *Indians* permit the *far Indians* (with whom they had conſtant War) to paſs thro' their Countries to *Albany*. Beſides, the *Five Nations* of *Indians* were at that time ſo numerous, (conſiſting of ten times the Number of fighting Men they now do) that the Trade with them alone was very conſiderable for ſo young and ſmall a Colony. In the latter End of King *Charles*'s Reign, when the *Duke of York*, and *Popiſh Councils* prevail'd, the Governor of *New-York* (who was likewiſe a *Papiſt*) had Orders to uſe all his Endeavours to make up a Peace between our Nations (the *Iroquois*) and the *French*; and that he ſhould perſuade the *Five Nations* to admit *French Prieſts* among them, in order to civilize them. The Conſequence of which was, that the *French* thereby obtained a free Commerce upon the *Lakes*, and obtain'd leave to build *Cataraqui Fort* upon the North-ſide of *Cataracui Lake*, and have two Veſſels of Force upon the ſame Lake. From this Time, during all King *James*'s Reign, the *French*, whenever they had any Differences with our *Five Nations*, threaten'd, that the *Engliſh* of *New-York* would join with them, and deſtroy the *Five Nations*; by which, and the Practices of the *French Prieſts*, our *Five Nations* became very much alienated in their Affections from the *Engliſh*, and look'd upon them as a People depending upon the *French*. The Conſequences of this appeared ſo dangerous to Colonel *Dungan*, the Governor of *New-York*, (though, as I have ſaid, a *Papiſt*) that he again and again complain'd to his Maſter of the ill Offices the *French Prieſts* did the *Engliſh* among *our Nations*. When the *Engliſh* had thus procur'd a Peace for the *French*, they thought they might juſtly reap ſome Advantage from it; and it's hardly to be doubted but that they had Promiſes of that kind.

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They were therefore encouraged to ſend forty Men, with great Quantities of Goods, into the *Lakes*, under the Command of Major *M'Gregory*, to trade with the *far Nations*. At this time Mr. *Denonville*, Governor of *Canada*, was gathering together all the Force of *Canada*, and of the *Indians*, (Enemies of the *Five Nations*) in order to ſurprize the *Five Nations*, and deſtroy them, at the Time they thought themſelves ſecure by the Peace ſo lately made. Major *M'Gregory*, and his Company, were met by a *French* Officer on *Lake Erie*, coming with a great Number of Men to the general Rendezvous of the *French*, and he, with all the *Engliſh*, were made Priſoners. They were uſed with ſuch Severity as has never been practis'd between *Chriſtian Nations* in open War, tho' the two Crowns, at that time, were not only at Peace, but under the ſtricteſt Ties of mutual Friendſhip; for the *French* uſed theſe People as Slaves in building *Cataraqui Fort*, and a poor *Frenchman* that had conducted them, was publickly ſhot to Death, as if he had brought an Enemy into their Country. Such was their Apprehenſions then of the *Engliſh* getting any Footing among the *Indians*.

The *French* Governor ſurprized a Village of the *Five Nations*, who, on the *French* Faith, liv'd in great Security, but ſeven or eight Leagues from the *French* Fort, and ſent theſe miſerable People to the Galleys in *France*. He afterwards fell upon the *Sennekas*, and burnt their Villages, but without any Advantage to the *French*, they having loſt more Men than the *Indians* did. This renew'd the War with greater Fury than ever, between the *French* and *our Indians*. For ſome time afterwards, *our Indians*, in a great Body, fell upon the Iſland of *Monreal*, while Mr. *Denonville* was in the Town: They burnt and deſtroy'd all the Villages and Houſes round *Monreal*, and kill'd ſome hundreds of Men, Women, and Children. Afterwards they came

into the open Fields before *Monreal*, and there defy'd the *French* Governor, who did not think it proper to fight them. And when they had done all the Miſchief they could, they retir'd without any Loſs.

About this Time the Revolution happen'd in *Great-Britain*, which was ſucceeded by a War between *Great-Britain* and *France*. In *February*, $16\frac{8}{9}$, a Party of three hundred Men, conſiſting of equal Numbers of *French* and *Indians*, ſurprized *Schenechtady* in the Night-time, when the poor People were in their Beds, in the greateſt Security, where they barbarouſly murdered ſixty-three Men, Women, and Children, in cold Blood, laid the Village in Aſhes, and then retir'd, without reaping any other Advantage beſides this cruel Revenge on innocent People, for the Miſchief *our Indians* had done them. This rais'd a cruel War between the two Colonies, in which there was much Miſchief done, and Blood ſhed, without any Advantage to either ſide.

In Time of this War, the *moſt Chriſtian King's* Governor of *Canada* was ſo much provoked, that he thought fit to follow the Example of our barbarous *Indians*, and burn his *Indian Priſoners* alive, in the moſt cruel Manner, in ſight of all the Inhabitants of *Quebeck*, and to deliver up the *Engliſh Priſoners* to the *French Indians*, who indeed had more Mercy, for they kill'd none of them.

King *William*'s Peace put an End to this War; but the Peace laſted ſo ſhort a while, that the People of this Province hardly had time to re-ſettle their Farms on the Frontiers, which they had deſerted in the Time of the War, much leſs to adventure trading in the *Indian Countries*, ſo lately the Scene of ſo much Cruelty. But both Colonies having now an Abhorrence of the Cruelties of the laſt War, agreed on a kind of Neutrality for the *Indians*, during Queen *Anne*'s War, in which Time we loſt much ground with our own *Indians:* For the *French* having learn'd, by dear Experience, that

it

it was not possible for them to conquer *our Five Indian Nations*, resolv'd to try all Means to gain their Affections, and in this Art the *French* are always more successful than in that of War; and the *English* failing in two ill-concerted Expeditions against *Canada*, the *Indians* lost much of the Opinion they had of the *English* Power and Valour.

In Time of this last War, the clandestine Trade to *Monreal* began to be carried on by *Indians*, from *Albany* to *Monreal*. This gave Rise to the *Kahnuaga*, or *Praying Indians*, who are entirely made up of Deserters from the *Mohawks* and *River Indians*, and were either enticed thither by the *French Priests*, or by our Merchants, in order to carry Goods from *Albany* to *Monreal*, or run away for some Mischief done here. These *Indians* now consist of about eighty fighting Men, and live about four Leagues above *Monreal:* They neither plant nor hunt, but depend chiefly upon this private Trade for their Subsistence. These *Indians*, in time of War, gave the *French* Intelligence of all Designs here against them: By them likewise the *French* engaged our *Five Nations* in a War with the *Indians* Friends of *Virginia*, and from them we might expect the greatest Mischief in Time of War, seeing every Part of the Province is as well known to them as to any of the Inhabitants. But if this Trade was entirely at an end, we have reason to believe, that these *Indians* would return to their own Tribes, for they then could not long subsist where they now are.

As soon as the Peace was proclaim'd, an open Trade with *Monreal* was carried on with such Earnestness, that *Monreal* was fill'd with *Indian Goods*, and *Albany* exhausted; by which means *Monreal* became the principal, if not the only *Indian Market*, and the *Indians* depended entirely on the *French* for what they wanted.

Our Merchants were fond of the *Canada* Trade, becauſe they ſold large Quantities of Goods without any Trouble, the *French* taking them from their Doors; whereas the Trade with the *Indians* is carried on with a great deal of Toil and Fatigue; and as to the Intereſt of the Country, they either never thought any thing about it, or if they did, had no regard to it.

Now I have brought this Account to the Time your Excellency arriv'd; what has happen'd ſince, your Excellency knows better than I can by any means inform you. From the whole, it ſeems plain, that any Difficulties and Diſadvantages this Province has been under, have only proceeded from the Wars, which have continued ſince the firſt ſettling of the Province, to the beginning of the laſt general Peace. But now, that not only *this Province*, but likewiſe our *ſix Nations* of *Indians* are at Peace, and in Amity, both with the *French*, and all the *Indian Nations* with whom we can have any Commerce, theſe Difficulties are all remov'd, and we now enjoy the moſt favourable Time, that at any time can be hoped for, in order to extend the *Britiſh Commerce* in *North-America*, while the *French* not only labour under the Difficulties which I have ſhown to be inſeparable from the Situation of their Colony, but likewiſe under another Diſadvantage, (not before taken notice of) by the Furr-Trade of *Canada* being reſtrain'd to one Company. This Company is obliged to pay heavy Duties in *France* upon the Importation of Beaver, or any other Furr; for which reaſon they always fix a Price upon Beaver, and their other Furrs, in *Canada*; and the *Indian Traders* of *Canada* being reſtrain'd from ſelling to any but the Company's Agents there, they cannot raiſe the Price of *Indian Goods* as the Price of *European* riſe, or as their Profit on the Goods they ſell to the *Indians* is leſſen'd.

The

The Merchants of *New-York* allow our *Indian* Traders double the Price for Beaver, that the *French* Company allow their *Indian* Traders, the Price eſtabliſhed by the Company for Beaver, in *Canada*, being two Livres, or *eighteen Pence Sterling*, the Pound-weight; and the current Price of Beaver in *New-York* being *five Shillings New-York* Money, or *three Shillings Sterling* the Pound-weight. Therefore it plainly follows, that our *Indian Traders* could under-ſell the *French Traders*, tho' they were to give as great a Price for *European Goods* as the *French* do, and did tranſport them at as great Charge, becauſe of the double Price they have for their Furrs in *New-York*.

But as our *Indian Traders* not only have a double Price for their *Indian Goods*, but likewiſe buy the Goods they ſell to the *Indians*, at half the Price the *French Indian Traders* do, the *French Traders* muſt be ruin'd by carrying on this Trade, in Competition with the *Engliſh* of *New-York*. And the *French Indian Traders* had been ruin'd before now, if they had not found means to carry their Beaver to *Albany*, where they got double the Price they muſt have ſold for in *Canada*.

It may be objected, againſt this Argument, *That the* Canada *Company as ſoon as they find that the Traders cannot ſell at their eſtabliſhed Price, will allow a greater Price.* But if we conſider the Duties the *French Company* is obliged to pay to the King, they cannot allow ſo great a Price as the *Engliſh* can at *New-York*. And if it ſhould be inſiſted, *That the* French Company *may obtain a Remiſſion of thoſe*, yet if the clandeſtine Trade with *Albany* be entirely ſtopt, the *French Traders* will be ruin'd before ſuch Remiſſion can be obtain'd, and their Trade will be at an end.

My Inclination led me to ſhow what Advantages not only the *Indian Trade* would reap by extending our

our Frontiers as far as the Lakes, but likewiſe the *Britiſh Trade* in ſome other Branches, which the Parliament of *Great-Britain* ſeem to have much at heart, *viz. Naval Stores*; for the Soil on both Sides of the *Mohawks River* being as rich as it is poſſible (I believe) for any Land to be, will be found the moſt proper for raiſing of HEMP, of any Part of *America*, and the whole Country round it being full of the largeſt Pines, the royal Navy is as likely to be well provided with MASTS there, and at as cheap a rate as any where elſe. But I have already too far preſum'd on your Excellency's Patience.

Cadwallader Colden.

To this it may not be improper to add the following Orignal Letter.

From J. A. *Eſq; to Mr.* P. C. *of* LONDON, *ſhewing the Succeſs of the Meaſures taken at that Time.*

SIR, *New-York*, 1740.

IF you ſhould be at the Pains to read theſe printed Papers, it will be a Pleaſure to you to hear of the Succeſs of the Meaſures taken by Governor *Burnet* for redeeming the *Indian* Trade out of the Hands of the *French*. He has ſucceeded far above our Expectations.

Governor *Burnet*, through his earneſt Application, and at firſt chiefly with his Money, Credit, and Riſque, erected a Trading-Houſe and Fortification at the Mouth of the *Onondagues* River, called *Oſneigo*, where the Province of *New-York* ſupports a Garriſon of Soldiers, conſiſting of a Lieutenant and twenty Men, which are yearly relieved.

At

At this Place a very great Trade is carried on with the remote *Indians*, who formerly uſed to go down to the *French* at *Monreal*, and there buy our *Engliſh* Goods, at ſecond Hand, at above twice the Price they now pay for them at *Oſneigo*; whilſt, at the ſame time, the *French* were chiefly ſupplied by one Gentleman at *New-York*, who almoſt entirely engroſſed the *Indian* Trade of this Province, and thereby acquired a very great Eſtate and Influence. But the prudent Steps taken by our late worthy Governor, to open a free Trade, was the Cauſe of the Engroſſer's loſing his. — The Probability of doing this, was the principal Motive of our applying to the King, which is ſhown by theſe printed Papers.

The *Indian* Trade, to the great Advantage of this Province, is now divided into ſeveral hundred Hands, and there have been for many Years paſt upwards of one hundred young Men of this Province, who have gone yearly among the *Indians*, to ſupply them with our Goods.

By this means, at a modeſt Eſtimate, I am aſſured, that the *Indian* Trade of this Province is now far above five times as much as when Governor *Burnet* began to put his Scheme in execution.

And this is not all the Advantages reaped thereby, but a much more conſiderable one to this, and all the other *Engliſh* Colonies is, that not only our own ſix Nations, but alſo many far and remote *Indian* Nations are drawn off from their Dependance on the *French*, and made, by Trade and Intercourſe, dependant on the *Engliſh*; by this means a great Security and Protection is acquired by the *Engliſh*, in caſe of a War with *France*; and by this Trade our Settlements in this Province are extended up to the *Onondagues* Carrying-place, which is now well attended with Waggons, for the more commodious tranſporting of Goods to trade in the Lakes.

And

And they are now ſettling on the Branches of *Saſquehanah* River; and from the weſtern Branches of this River, there is but a ſmall Land-Carriage to *Allegheny*, a Branch of that great River *Miſiſſippi*; which Branch extending a thouſand Miles from its Mouth, where it enters the ſaid River; and which joins ſo near to our Settlements, as is above taken notice of, opens us a Trade to that vaſt Country, called by the *French Louiſiana*, which they poſſeſs on the *Miſiſſippi*.

I am,

SIR,

Your humble Servant,

J. A.

THE

THE TREATY HELD WITH THE *INDIANS* OF THE SIX NATIONS, AT *PHILADELPHIA*, In *JULY*, 1742.

THE

TREATY

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES

OF THE

SIX NATIONS

AT

PHILADELPHIA,

IN JULY, 1742.

THE TREATY, &c.

THE Deputies of the ſix Nations having, at their laſt Viſit, agreed to releaſe their Claim to all the Land on both Sides of the River *Saſquehanah*, as far South as this Province extends, and to the Northward to thoſe called the *Endleſs Mountains*, or *Kittochtinny Hills*; in Conſideration whereof, they then received a large Quantity of valuable *Indian* Goods for the Lands ſituate on the Eaſtern Side of the ſaid River, but declined at that Time to receive any for thoſe on the Weſtern Side of the ſaid River, chuſing to defer the ſame till another Viſit; a large Number arrived from theſe Nations at *Philadelphia*, on *Wedneſday* the 30th of *June*, with Deputies duly impowered to receive the ſaid Goods; and acquainted the Governor, that being weary from the Fatigue of their long Journey, they ſhould crave three or four Days to reſt themſelves before they proceeded to their Buſineſs: In the mean time they would wait on the Governor to diſcourſe, according to their uſual Method, about News and other Occurrences; which the Governor readily agreed to, and aſk'd them when they would chuſe to pay their firſt Viſit; which they deſiring might be on *Friday* the 2d of *July*, in the Afternoon, the Council was accordingly ſummon'd, and met at Mr. *Logan*'s Houſe, where were

PRESENT,

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Samuel Preston*,
Clement Plumsted, *Thomas Lawrence*,
Samuel Hasell, *Ralph Assheton*,
Abraham Taylor, *Robert Strettell*,
} Esqrs;

The Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, with the Chiefs of the *Shawanese*.

CANASSATEEGO, the *Onondago* Chief, Speaker.

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

The Governor opened the Conference as follows.

BRETHREN,

'The Proprietor having purchased certain Lands 'from your Nations about six Years ago, a Moiety 'of what was agreed to be given in Consideration of 'that Purchase was at that Time delivered to them, 'and the other being at their Desire left in the 'Proprietor's Hands, he pressed you by *Shikalamy* 'to send last Year for it, and would have been 'glad to have seen you, and taken you by the 'Hand before his Departure. But as the Design 'of this Meeting is to hear your News, and con-'verse together in a free and friendly Manner, I 'shall say no more about the Goods than that they 'lie ready at the Proprietor's House, and will be 'delivered when you shall have sufficiently rested 'from the Fatigue of your Journey.'

The Chief of the *Onondagoes* spoke.

BRETHREN,

'We propose to rest four Days, and then come 'to the main Business. At present we are at a pri-'vate Conference about News, and have something

'of

'of this ſort to mention to our Brother *Onas*.' And on the Governor's ſignifying they would be glad to know what it was, the Chief proceeded.

'*BRETHREN*,

'It is our Way when we come to our Brethren, 'or any other Perſons, whom we live in ſtrict 'Friendſhip with, to remove all Obſtructions to a 'good Underſtanding; with this View we are to 'inform you of a Piece of diſagreeable News that 'happen'd in our Journey.——Some White Peo-'ple living at a Place called *Conegocheegoe*, whoſe 'Names we cannot tell, nor whether they belong 'to this or the neighbouring Government, but one 'of them, as we heard, had his Houſe burnt over 'his Head ſome Years ago, and he was brought 'down a Priſoner and committed to the Goal of 'this City: Theſe People lighting of our young 'Warriors, as they were hunting, made ſome Pro-'poſals about the Purchaſing of Land from them, 'and our young Men being indiſcreet, and unac-'quainted with publick Buſineſs, were fooliſh 'enough to hearken to them, and to receive five 'Duffil Strowds for two Plantations on the River '*Cohongoronto*. A *Coneſtogoe Indian*, and a *French* '*Indian*, and ſome others that were in Company, 'had three Duffil Strowds, and went away with 'them; and our young Men carried off the other 'two. As ſoon as this came to our Knowledge, 'we ſent for our Warriors, and after examining 'and rebuking them ſeverely, we took away their 'two Strowds, and publickly cenſured them for 'expoſing us to our Brethren of *Penſylvania*, in 'doing a Thing ſo inconſiſtent with our Engage-'ments to them; "You are, ſaid we aloud, that "all our People might hear and take Notice, to "know and remember, that the Six Nations have "obliged themſelves to ſell none of the Land that "falls within the Province of *Penſylvania*, to any

" other but our Brother *Onas*, and that to ſell " Lands to any other is an high Breach of the " League of Friendſhip." Brethren, this raſh Proceeding of our young Men makes us aſhamed. 'We always mean well, and ſhall perform faithfully what we have promiſed: And we aſſure you, 'this Affair was tranſacted in the Manner we have 'related, without our Privity or Conſent. And that 'you may be fully convinced of this, and of the 'Sincerity of our Intentions, we have brought you 'theſe two Strowds [*here he preſented two red 'Strowds to the Governor*] they are the very Strowds 'our fooliſh young Men received; we took them 'from them, and we give them to you to return 'to thoſe white People who made the Bargain, and 'deſire when the Strowds are returned to them, 'they may be told what we now ſay, and that we 'ſhall not confirm ſuch Bargains, nor any other 'that may interfere with our Engagements to our 'Brother *Onas*.'

The Governor then ſpoke:

'*BRETHREN*,

'I thank you for this Piece of News; you have 'taken this Matter perfectly right. All Bargaining 'for Land within this Province, is, to be ſure, a 'manifeſt Breach of your Contract with the Proprietors, and what we know you will not countenance. We have hitherto found the *Six Nations* faithful to their Engagements, and this is a 'freſh Inſtance of their Punctuality. You could 'not help theſe Miſtakes of your young Men; 'they were not done in your Preſence: But as ſeveral Inconveniencies may ariſe from theſe kind of 'clandeſtine Sales, or from any ſuch looſe Sales of 'Land by your People, we deſire you will, on 'your Return home, give publick Notice to all 'your Warriors not to bargain for any Land; or

'if

'if they do, that you will not confirm such Bargains; 'and that this very Affair, together with what you 'have done therein, may be particularly reported 'to all your Nation assembled in Council.'

The *Onondago* Chief promised to give such publick Notice; and desiring Liberty to mend his former Speech, he proceeded:

'*BRETHREN*,

'I forgot one Circumstance: Our People, who 'pretended to sell the Land, demanded a Belt of 'Wampum of the Buyers to carry to their Chiefs; 'and on their declaring they had no Wampum, 'our Warriors said, they would not answer that 'their Chiefs would confirm this Bargain, since 'they never did any thing of this Nature without 'Wampum.'

The Governor, after a short Pause, spoke:

'*BRETRHEN of the Six Nations*,

'I take this Opportunity to relate to you a Piece 'of disagreeable News I received some Days ago in 'a Letter from *Le Tort*, the *Indian* Trader, at '*Allegheny*, who says, "That in *May* last some *In-*"*dians* of the *Taway* Nation, supposed by us to "be the *Twightwees*, in their Return from War, "called and staid some Time with the *Shawanese*; "who being asked, and denying they had brought "either Scalps or Prisoners, the *Shawanese* suspect-"ing them, had the Curiosity to search their Bags, "and finding two Scalps in them, that by the "Softness of the Hair did not feel like *Indian* "Scalps, they wash'd them clean, and found them "to be the Scalps of some Christians. On this Disco-"very, the *Twightwees* were so much ashamed, that "they stole away from their Town in the Night-"time; and coming, as they afterwards under-

" ſtood, to a little Village belonging to the *Shaw-*
" *aneſe*, they told our People that their Hearts were
" full of Grief; for, as they came along the Road,
" they found it all bloody; and having good Cauſe
" to believe it was made bloody with the Blood of
" ſome of the white Brethren, they had very ſor-
" rowfully ſwept the Road; and deſired them to
" inform the Governor of *Penſilvania* of their (the
" *Twightwees*) Grief; and how they had ſwept the
" Road clean." '*Le Tort* adds, on Behalf of the
'*Shawaneſe*, " That they were much grieved at
" this unfortunate Accident; and prayed, as they
" had no Concern in it, more than by being In-
" ſtruments to diſcover it, their Brethren would
" not blame them, nor ſuffer a Miſunderſtanding
" to ariſe between them on this Account: They
" would ſweep the Road clean, and wipe all the
" Blood away; and deſired their Brethren would
" be ſatisfied with this, and not weep too much for
" a Misfortune that might not happen again as
" long as the Sun and Moon ſhone."

'The Perſon who delivered me *Le Tort*'s Let-
'ter, brought this Bundle of Skins as a Preſent to
'me; but I told the Meſſenger, I would not med-
'dle with it; he might leave it if he pleaſed: The
'Affair appear'd to me in a bad Light, and I
'would repreſent it to the *Six Nations*, who were
'expected in Town every Day. This is the Fact,
'as I have it from *Le Tort*: I deſire to be inform'd
'if you know any thing of this Matter; and if
'you do not, that you will make diligent Enquiry
'who committed the Murder, and who are the
'unhappy Sufferers, and aſſiſt us to obtain Satiſ-
'faction, if it ſhall appear to be any, of our Fel-
'low-Subjects that have been treated in this Man-
'ner.'

To inforce this Requeſt, I preſent you with this String of Wampum.

The

The *Onondago* Chief, in Reply, ſaid:

BRETHREN,

'We take this Information kindly at your 'Hands; we will take this String of Wampum 'home with us to our Lodgings, and there conſult 'about the moſt regular and proper Steps to be 'taken by us to anſwer your Expectations, and 'when we have duly conſidered the Matter, we 'will return you an Anſwer.'

Upon this the Governor put an End to the Conference; and calling for Wine, and other Liquors, according to the *Indian* Cuſtom, after a decent and chearful Entertainment, the *Indians* withdrew.

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor's Houſe, *July* 5, 1742.

PRESENT

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Clement Plumſted*, } Eſqrs;

With ſeveral Gentlemen of the Town.

The Chiefs of the Six Nations.

It being judg'd proper, at this critical Time, when we are in daily Expectation of a *French* War, to ſound the *Indians*, and diſcover what Dependance we might have on them, in caſe their Aid ſhould be wanted, an handſome Dinner was provided for their Chiefs; and after they had made an hearty Meal, and drank his Majeſty's Health, the Proprietors, and the Health of the *Six Nations*, the Chiefs gave the ſolemn Cry, in Teſtimony of their Thanks for the Honour done them. And ſoon

after the Governor began, in a free Way, to enquire for what Reaſon the *Senecas* were not come down, ſince they had an equal Share of the Goods with the other Nations.——— *Canaſſateego*, their Speaker, ſaid, 'The *Senecas* were in great Diſtreſs, 'on Account of a Famine that raged in their Coun-'try, which had reduced them to ſuch Want, that 'a Father had been obliged to kill two of his Chil-'dren to preſerve his own, and the reſt of his Fa-'mily's Lives; and they could not now come 'down, but had given Directions about their Share 'of the Goods.'——The Governor expreſs'd his Concern for the unhappy Circumſtances of their Brethren of the *Seneca* Nation; and, after a ſhort Reſpite, enquired if any of their Deputies were then at *Canada*, and whether the *French* Governor was making any warlike Preparations. And on their anſwering *Yes*, the Governor ſaid, with a ſmiling, pleaſant Countenance, 'I ſuppoſe, if the *French* 'ſhould go to War with us, you will join them.' The *Indians* conferr'd together for ſome Time, and then *Canaſſateego*, in a chearful lively Manner, made anſwer.——'We aſſure you, the Governor of *Ca-'nada* pays our Nations great Court at this Time, 'well knowing of what Conſequence we are to the '*French* Intereſt: He has already told us, he was 'uncovering the Hatchet, and ſharpening it, and 'hoped, if he ſhould be obliged to lift it up againſt 'the *Engliſh*, our Nations would remain neuter, 'and aſſiſt neither Side.——But we will now ſpeak 'plainly to our Brethren: Why ſhould we, who 'are one Fleſh with you, refuſe to help you, when-'ever you want our Aſſiſtance?——We have con-'tinued a long Time in the ſtricteſt League of 'Amity and Friendſhip with you, and we ſhall 'always be faithful and true to you our old and 'good Allies.——The Governor of *Canada* talks 'a great deal, but ten of his Words do not go ſo 'far as one of yours.——We do not look towards

'them; we look towards you; and you may de-
'pend on our Aſſiſtance.' Whilſt the *Onondago* Chief made this open and hearty Declaration, all the other *Indians* made frequently that particular Kind of Noiſe which is known to be a Mark of Approbation.——The Governor bid the Interpreter tell *Canaſſateego*, 'He did not ſet on foot this En-
'quiry from any Suſpicion he had of the *Six Nations*
'wanting a due Regard for the *Engliſh*.— Our Ex-
'perience of their Honour and Faith, ſaid he, would
'not permit us to think any other of them, than that
'they would eſteem our Friends their Friends, and
'our Enemies their Enemies, agreeable to the ſtrict
'Union which had ever ſubſiſted between us.—As
'to the Governor of *Canada*, he told them they need
'not mind what he ſaid.—The *Engliſh*, on equal
'Terms, had beat the *French*, and could beat them
'again: And were they but to conſider the Ad-
'vantages which the *Engliſh* have, by poſſeſſing ſo
'many large and populous Countries, and ſo many
'good Ports on the Continent of *America*, they
'would ſoon ſee who had moſt Reaſon to fear a
'War, the *French* or the *Engliſh*.'

Here the Converſation dropped; and after another Glaſs of Wine, the *Indians* reſumed the Diſcourſe, by aſking whether their Brethren had not been for ſome Time engaged in a War with the King of *Spain*, and what Succeſſes they had met with.

The Governor told them, the King of *Great-Britain* lived in an Iſland, and being ſurrounded with the Sea, his chief Strength lay in his Ships; in which he was ſo much ſuperior to his Enemies, that they were ſeldom to be met with on the broad Ocean, but ſculk'd and hid themſelves, only venturing out now and then; and whenever they did, they were almoſt ſure to be taken; and

that the King of *Great-Britain* had with his Ships, beat down, or taken ſeveral of the *Spaniards* great Forts in *America*.—The *Indians* ſaid, they were pleaſed to hear their Brethren were an Over-match for their Enemies, and wiſh'd them good Succeſs.

The Governor then enquired into the State and Condition of the Nations to the Weſtward of the Great Lakes, and whether they had any Warriours then in thoſe Countries? Whether they had concluded Peace with the Southern *Indians?* And whether they had heard what their Deputies had done at *Albany?*

They made Anſwer: That they had always Abundance of their Men out amongſt the Nations ſituate to the Weſt of their Lakes.—That they had kindled a Fire with a vaſt many Nations, ſome whereof were Tributaries, and they had a good Underſtanding with all.—They ſet out from their own Country in Company with two Sets of Deputies, one going to hold a Treaty with the Southern *Indians*, and they believed a Peace would be concluded: The other going to meet the Governor of *New-York*, at *Albany*; but they could not tell what had been done at either Place.—On their return, they were to hold a General Council, and would inform their Brethren of theſe Particulars.

Then the Governor put an End to the Conference, by telling the *Indians* the Goods would be delivered to them at a Council to be held To-morrow Afternoon at the Meeting-Houſe.

At a COUNCIL held in the Meeting-House, *Philadelphia*, *July* 6, 1742.

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Samuel Preston*, *Clement Plumsted*, *Ralph Asheton*, *Abraham Taylor*, *Robert Strettell*, } Esqrs;

CANASSATEEGO, Chief of the *Onondagoes*, Speaker.

SHICALAMY, and a great Number of *Indians*, whose Names are as follows, *viz.*

ONONTOGOES.

Sawegaty, *Caxhayion*, } Counsellors.
Saguyassatha,
Kayadoghratie, alias *Slanaghquasy*,
Rotier-uwughton,
Tokaughaah,
Tiorughwaghthe,
Tokano-ungoh,
Aronty-oony,
Tohanohawighton,
Tioghwatoony,
Auughrahysey.

CAIYOQUOS.

Sahugh-sowa, *Tohatgaghthus*, } Chiefs.
Tokany-esus,
Runho-hihio,
Kanadoghary,
Zior-aghquaty,
Sagu-iughwatha, alias *Cadcaradasey*,
Sca-yenties,
Tats-heghteh,
Alligh-waheis,
Tayo-quario,
Hogh degh runtu,
Rotehn Haghtyackon, Captain.
Sawoalieselhohaa,
Sagughsa-eck,
Uwantakeraa,
Horuhot,
Osoghquaa,
Tuyanoegon.

ANOYIUTS, *or* ONEIDAS.

Saristaquoh, *Ungquaterughiathe*, alias *Shikelimo*, } Chiefs.
Tottowakerha,
Taraghkoerus,
Onughkallydawwy, a noted young Chief.
Onughnaxqua,

Onughnaxqua, Chief.
Tawyiakaarat,
Tohathuyongochtha,
Sughnakaarat,
Taghneghdoerus,
Tokanyiadaroeyon,
Sagogughyatha,
Rahehius,
Tokanuſoegon.

JENONTOWANOS, *or* SENECAS.

Karugh iagh Raghquy, Captain.
Tahn heentus,
Onontyiack.

TUSCARRORUS.

Sawontka, *Ti-ieroes*, *Cloghſytowax*, } Chiefs.
Tokaryhoegon, Captain.
Oghioghſeh,
Tieleghweghſon,
Tougrotha,
Yorughianego,
Ot-quehig,
Squaghky,
Sayadyio,
Onughſowûghton,
Cherigh wâſtho,
Aghſûnteries,
Tion ogh ſcôghtha,
Saligh wanaghſon,
Ohn-wâaſey,
Tocar-eher [died ſince at *Tulpehokin*.]
Tohanatâkqua,
Kanyhâag.

SHAWANOES.

Wehwehlaky, Chief.
Aſet teywa,
Aſoghqua,
Maya minickyſy,
Wawyia Beeſeny.

Caneſtogo *Indians that ſpeak the* Onayiut's *Language*.

Tior Haaſery, Chief.
Tanigh wackerau,
Karha Cawyiat,
Kayen quily quo.

CANOYIAS, *or* NANTIKOKES, *of* Caneſtogo.

Des-ſeheg,
Ichqua que heck,
Queſamaag,
Ayiok-ius.

DELAWARES *of* Shamokin.

Olumapies, *Lingehanoah*, } Chiefs.
Kelly macquan,
Quitie-yquont,
Piſhquiton,
Nena chy haut.

DELAWARES *from the* Forks.

Onutpe, *Lawye quohwon* alias *Nutimus*, } Chiefs
Toweghkappy.
Cornel. Spring, and others.

CONRAD WEISER, CORNELIUS SPRING, *Interpreters*.

And a great Number of the Inhabitants of *Philadelphia*.

The

The Governor having commanded Silence, ſpoke as follows:

'*Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,*

'Six Years ago a Number of your Chiefs oblig-
'ed us with a Viſit, when they agreed on Behalf
'of your Nations, to the Releaſe of certain Lands
'on both Sides the River *Saſquehannah*, to the
'Southward of the *Endleſs-Mountains*, and within
'the Limits and Bounds of the King's Grant of
'this Province. In Conſideration of which, a cer-
'tain Quantity of Goods was agreed on, and de-
'livered as a full Satisfaction for the ſaid Lands,
'lying on the Eaſtern Side of the ſaid River: And
'for the Lands on the Weſtern Side of the ſaid
'River, you deſired the Payment ſhould be de-
'ferr'd till another Opportunity. Theſe Goods,
'which are exactly the ſame in Quantity, as thoſe
'you received the laſt Time the Chiefs of your
'Nations were here, have been ready a conſider-
'able Time, and kept in Expectation of your
'coming for them: And now you are come down,
'fully impowered by your reſpective Councils to
'receive them, we are well pleaſed to deliver them;
'leaving it to you to make a fair and equal Di-
'viſion of them amongſt yourſelves. We are
'ſorry for the Abſence of our Brethren the *Senecas*,
'and much more ſo, that it ſhould be owing to
'their Diſtreſs at Home by a Famine that rages
'in their Country:—A Famine ſo great, that you
'tell us a Father has been obliged to ſacrifice one
'Part of his Family, even his own Children, for
'the Support and Preſervation of himſelf, and the
'other Part.—We heartily commiſerate their Con-
'dition, and do not doubt but you will do them
'fair and ample Juſtice in the Diſpoſal of their
'Part of the Goods, in ſuch Manner as they have
'inſtructed you. You ſhall now hear the Liſt of
'the Goods read to you.'

Here,

Here, by the Governor's Order, the Liſt of the Goods was read over, *viz.*

500	*Pounds of Powder.*	100	*Tobacco-Tongs.*
600	*Pounds of Lead.*	100	*Sciſſars.*
45	*Guns.*	500	*Awl-Blades.*
60	*Strowd-Matchcoats.*	120	*Combs.*
100	*Blankets.*	2000	*Needles.*
100	*Duffil Matchcoats.*	1000	*Flints.*
200	*Yards Half-thick.*	24	*Looking-Glaſſes.*
100	*Shirts.*	2	*Pounds of Vermilion*
40	*Hats.*	100	*Tin-Pots.*
40	*Pair Shoes & Buckles.*	1000	*Tobacco-Pipes.*
40	*Pair Stockings.*	200	*Pounds of Tobacco.*
100	*Hatchets.*	24	*Dozen of Garter-*
500	*Knives.*		*ing, and*
100	*Hoes.*	25	*Gallons of Rum.*
60	*Kettles.*		

Then the Governor told them that the Goods, of which the Particulars had been juſt read to them, were in the Meeting-Houſe, and would be ſent to whatever Place they would direct.

The Governor then proceeded:

BRETHREN,

'You have often heard of the Care that your 'great and good Friend and Brother *William Penn*, 'took at all Times to cultivate a perfect good 'Harmony with all the *Indians*: Of theſe your Na- 'tions have ever been fully ſenſible; but more 'eſpecially a Number of your Chiefs, about ten 'Years ago, when on the Arrival of a Son of your 'ſaid great Friend *William Penn*, large and valu- 'able Preſents were exchanged by us with you; a 'new Road was made and clear'd; a new Fire 'kindled; and the Chain of Friendſhip made 'ſtronger, ſo as to laſt while the Sun and Moon 'endure.

'And

'And now we cannot but congratulate ourſelves, 'that your coming ſhould happen at a Time, when 'we are in daily Expectation of a War being de-'clared between the King of *England*, and the '*French* King, well knowing that ſhould ſuch a 'War happen, it muſt very ſenſibly affect you, 'conſidering your Situation in the Neighbourhood 'of *Canada*. Your coming at this Juncture is 'particularly fortunate, ſince it gives us an Op-'portunity of mentioning ſeveral Things that may 'be neceſſary to be ſettled, between People ſo 'ſtrictly and cloſely united as we are.—An Union 'not to be expreſſed by any Thing leſs, than the 'affectionate Regards which Children of the ſame 'Parents bear for each other, as conceiving our-'ſelves to be one Fleſh and one People.

'The utmoſt Care therefore ought mutually to 'be taken by us on both Sides, that the Road be-'tween us be kept perfectly clear and open, and 'no Lets nor the leaſt Obſtruction be ſuffered to 'lie in the Way; or if any ſhould by Accident be 'found, that may hinder our free Intercourſe and 'Correſpondence, it muſt forthwith be removed.

To inforce this, we lay down a String of Wampum.

'In the next Place, we, on our Part, ſhall inlarge 'our Fire that burns between us. We ſhall pro-'vide more Fewel to increaſe it, and make it burn 'brighter and clearer, and give a ſtronger and 'more laſting Light and Warmth.

In Evidence of our ſincere Intentions, we lay down this Belt of Wampum.

'In the laſt Place, conſidering the Obligations 'we are mutually under by our ſeveral Treaties, "That we ſhould hear with our Ears for you, and "you hear with your Ears for us.' We ſhall at 'Times very willingly give you the earlieſt and 'beſt Intelligence, of any Deſigns that may be 'form'd to your Diſadvantage.—And if you diſ-'cover any Preparations that can hurt us, we de-

'sire you will immediately dispatch some suitable 'Person in whom we can place a Confidence, to 'give us a proper Information.

To inforce this Request, as well as to brighten the Chain, we lay down this other Belt of Wampum.

On the Governor's concluding the Speech, the solemn Cry by Way of Approbation was repeated by the *Indians*, as many Times as there were Nations present; and then *Canassateego* rose up and spoke.

'*BRETHREN*,

'We thank you for your kind Speech: What 'you have said is very agreeable to us; and To-'morrow when we have deliberated on the several 'Matters recommended to us, we will give you 'our Answer. We desire, as our Time will be 'wholly taken up in Council, you will order the 'Goods to be carried back to the Proprietaries to 'prevent their being lost, and that they may con-'tinue there till we call for them.'

At a COUNCIL held in the Meeting-House, *July* 7, 1742.

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Samuel Preston*,
Thomas Lawrence, *Samuel Hasell*,
Abraham Taylor, *Robert Strettell*,
} Esqrs;

CANASSATEEGO's Speech on Behalf of the *Six Nations*.

'*BRETHREN*, *the Governor and Council*,
'*and all present*,

'According to our Promise we now propose to 'return you an Answer to the several Things men-

'tioned

'tioned to us Yesterday, and shall beg Leave to 'speak to publick Affairs first, tho' they were what 'you spoke to last. On this Head you Yesterday 'put us in Mind, first, "Of *William Penn*'s early "and constant Care to cultivate Friendship with "all the *Indians*; of the Treaty we held with one "of his Sons, about ten Years ago; and of the "Necessity there is at this Time of keeping the "Roads between us clear and free from all Ob-"structions." We are all very sensible of the kind 'Regard that good Man *William Penn* had for all 'the *Indians*, and cannot but be pleased to find that 'his Children have the same. We well remember 'the Treaty you mention held with his Son on his 'Arrival here, by which we confirmed our League 'of Friendship, that is to last as long as the Sun 'and Moon endure: In Consequence of this, we, 'on our Part, shall preserve the Road free from 'all Incumbrances; in Confirmation whereof we 'lay down this String of Wampum.

'You in the next Place said you would enlarge 'the Fire and make it burn brighter, which we are 'pleased to hear you mention; and assure you, 'we shall do the same, by adding to it more 'Fewel, that it may still flame out more strongly 'than ever: In the last Place, you were pleased to 'say that we are bound by the strictest Leagues, to 'watch for each others Preservation; that we 'should hear with our Ears for you, and you hear 'with your Ears for us: This is equally agree-'able to us; and we shall not fail to give you 'early Intelligence, whenever any Thing of Con-'sequence comes to our Knowledge: And to en-'courage you to do the same, and to nourish in 'your Hearts what you have spoke to us with 'your Tongues, about the Renewal of our Amity 'and the Brightening of the Chain of Friendship; 'we confirm what we have said with another Belt 'of Wampum.'

'*BRETHREN*,

'*BRETHREN*,

'We received from the Proprietors Yesterday, 'some Goods in Consideration of our Release of 'the Lands on the West-side of *Saſquehannah*. It 'is true, we have the full Quantity according to 'Agreement; but if the Proprietor had been here 'himself, we think, in Regard of our Numbers 'and Poverty, he would have made an Addition 'to them.—If the Goods were only to be divided 'amongſt the *Indians* preſent, a ſingle Perſon 'would have but a ſmall Portion; but if you con- 'ſider what Numbers are left behind, equally en- 'titled with us to a Share, there will be extremely 'little. We therefore deſire, if you have the Keys 'of the Proprietor's Cheſt, you will open it, and 'take out a little more for us.

'We know our Lands are now become more 'valuable: The white People think we do not 'know their Value; but we are ſenſible that the 'Land is everlaſting, and the few Goods we re- 'ceive for it are ſoon worn out and gone. For 'the future, we will ſell no Lands but when Bro- 'ther *Onas* is in the Country; and we will know 'beforehand, the Quantity of the Goods we are to 'receive. Beſides, we are not well uſed with re- 'ſpect to the Lands ſtill unſold by us. Your Peo- 'ple daily ſettle on theſe Lands, and ſpoil our 'Hunting.—We muſt inſiſt on your removing 'them, as you know they have no Right to ſettle 'to the Northward of *Kittochtinny-Hills*.—In par- 'ticular, we renew our Complaints againſt ſome 'People who are ſettled at *Juniata*, a Branch of '*Saſquahannah*, and all along the Banks of that 'River, as far as *Mahaniay*; and deſire they may 'be forthwith made to go off the Land, for they 'do great Damage to our Couſins the *Delawares*.

'We have further to obſerve, with reſpect to 'the Lands lying on the Weſt-ſide of *Saſquahan-*

'*nah*,

'*nah*, that though Brother *Onas* (meaning the Pro-
'prietor) has paid us for what his People poſſeſs,
'yet ſome Parts of that Country have been taken
'up by Perſons, whoſe Place of Reſidence is to
'the South of this Province, from whom we have
'never received any Conſideration. This Affair
'was recommended to you by our Chiefs at our
'laſt Treaty; and you then, at our earneſt Deſire,
'promiſed to write a Letter to that Perſon who has
'the Authority over thoſe People, and to procure
'us his Anſwer: As we have never heard from you
'on this Head, we want to know what you have
'done in it. If you have not done any Thing,
'we now renew our Requeſt, and deſire you will
'inform the Perſon whoſe People are ſeated on
'our Lands, that that Country belongs to us, in
'Right of Conqueſt; we having bought it with
'our Blood, and taken it from our Enemies in fair
'War; and we expect, as Owners of that Land,
'to receive ſuch a Conſideration for it as the Land
'is worth. We deſire you will preſs him to ſend
'a poſitive Anſwer: Let him ſay *Yes* or *No*: If
'he ſays Yes, we will treat with him; if No, we
'are able to do ourſelves Juſtice; and we will do
'it, by going to take Payment ourſelves.

'It is cuſtomary with us to make a Preſent of
'Skins, whenever we renew our Treaties. We
'are aſhamed to offer our Brethren ſo few, but
'your Horſes and Cows have eat the Graſs our
'Deer uſed to feed on. This has made them
'ſcarce, and will, we hope, plead in Excuſe for
'our not bringing a larger Quantity. If we could
'have ſpared more, we would have given more;
'but we are really poor; and deſire you'll not
'conſider the Quantity, but few as they are, ac-
'cept them in Teſtimony of our Regard.'

Here they gave the Governor a Bundle of Skins.

The Governor immediately replied.

'*BRETHREN*,

'We thank you for the many Declarations of 'Reſpect you have given us, in this ſolemn Re- 'newal of our Treaties: We receive, and ſhall 'keep your String and Belts of Wampum, as 'Pledges of your Sincerity, and deſire thoſe we 'gave you may be carefully preſerved, as Teſti- 'monies of ours.

'In Anſwer to what you ſay about the Proprie- 'taries.—They are all abſent, and have taken the 'Keys of their Cheſt with them; ſo that we can- 'not, on their Behalf, enlarge the Quantity of 'Goods: Were they here, they might perhaps, 'be more generous; but we cannot be liberal for 'them.—The Government will, however, take 'your Requeſt into Conſideration; and in Regard 'to your Poverty, may perhaps make you a Pre- 'ſent. I but juſt mention this now, intending to 'refer this Part of your Speech to be anſwered at 'our next Meeting.

'The Number of Guns, as well as every Thing 'elſe, anſwers exactly with the Particulars ſpeci- 'fied in your Deed of Conveyance, which is more 'than was agreed to be given you. It was your 'own Sentiments, that the Lands on the Weſt-ſide 'of *Saſquahannah*, were not ſo valuable as thoſe on 'the Eaſt; and an Abatement was to be made, 'proportionable to the Difference in Value: But 'the Proprietor overlooked this, and ordered the 'full Quantity to be delivered, which you will 'look on as a Favour.

'It is very true, that Lands are of late become 'more valuable; but what raiſes their Value? Is 'it not entirely owing to the Induſtry and Labour 'uſed by the white People, in their Cultivation 'and Improvement? Had not they come amongſt

'you,

'you, these Lands would have been of no Use to 'you, any further than to maintain you. And is 'there not, now you have sold so much, enough 'left for all the Purposes of Living?—What you 'say of the Goods, that they are soon worn out, 'is applicable to every Thing; but you know very 'well, that they cost a great deal of Money; and 'the Value of Land is no more, than it is worth in 'Money.

'On your former Complaints against People's 'settling the Lands on *Juniata*, and from thence all 'along on the River *Susquahannah* as far as *Maha-'niahy*, some Magistrates were sent expresly to re-'move them, and we thought no Persons would 'presume to stay after that.'

Here they interrupted the Governor, and said:—"These Persons who were sent did not do their "Duty: So far from removing the People, they "made Surveys for themselves, and they are in "League with the Trespassers. We desire more "effectual Methods may be used, and honester "Persons employed."

Which the Governor promised, and then proceeded:

'*BRETHREN*,

'According to the Promise made at our last 'Treaty with you, Mr. *Logan*, who was at that 'Time President, did write to the Governor of '*Maryland*, that he might make you Satisfaction for 'such of your Lands as his People had taken up, 'but did not receive one Word from him upon 'that Head. I will write to him again, and en-'deavour to procure you a satisfactory Answer. 'We do not doubt but he will do you Justice: 'But we exhort you to be careful not to exercise 'any Acts of Violence towards his People, as they 'likewise are our Brethren, and Subjects of the 'same great King; and therefore Violence to-

'wards them, must be productive of very evil 'Consequences.

'I shall conclude what I have to say at this Time, 'with Acknowledgments for your Present; which 'is very agreeable to us, from the Expressions of 'Regard used by you in presenting it: Gifts of 'this Nature receiving their Value from the Affec- 'tion of the Giver, and not from the Quantity or 'Price of the Thing given.'

At a COUNCIL held at *Philadelphia*, *July* 8, 1742.

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan,	*Samuel Preston*,	Esqrs;
Clement Plumsted,	*Thomas Lawrence*,	
Samuel Hasell,	*Ralph Asheton*,	
Abraham Taylor,	*Robert Strettell*,	

The Board taking into Consideration, whether it be proper or not at this Time, to make a Present to the *Indians* of the Six Nations now in Town, in Return for their Present to this Government at Yesterday's Treaty;

Resolved,

That it is highly fit and proper that a Present be made to the said *Indians* at this Time.

And it is the Opinion of this Board, that the said Present should be of the Value of 500 *l.* or at least 300 *l.*

And it is recommended to Mr. *Logan*, Mr. *Preston*, and Mr. *Lawrence*, to acquaint Mr. *Kinsey*, the Speaker of the Assembly, with the Opinion of this Board; and that they request him to confer with such other Members of Assembly as are in Town, and report their Sentiments thereupon.

The Board taking into Consideration the Threats expressed by the *Indians*, at the Treaty Yesterday, against

againſt the Inhabitants of *Maryland*, ſettled on certain Lands on the Weſt-ſide of *Saſquahannah*, which the *Indians* claim, and for which they require Satisfaction; and conſidering, that ſhould thoſe Threats, in any Sort be put in Execution, not only the Inhabitants of *Maryland*, but of this Government, and all his Majeſty's Subjects on the Northern Continent of *America*, may thereby be involved in much Trouble: It is the Opinion of this Board, that the Governor write to the Governor of *Maryland* without Delay, to inform him of the *Indians* Complaints and Threats, and to requeſt a ſatisfactory Anſwer; and that his Letter be ſent by a ſpecial Meſſenger, at the publick Expence.

At a COUNCIL held *July* 9, 1742.

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, Eſq;	*Samuel Preſton*, Eſq;
Clement Plumſted, Eſq;	*Ralph Aſheton*, Eſq;
Samuel Haſell, Eſq;	*Thomas Lawrence*, Eſq;
Robert Strettell, Eſq;	Mr. *Peters*.

The Governor informed the Board, that the *Indian* Chiefs dining with him Yeſterday, after Dinner delivered their Anſwer to two Affairs of Conſequence:

The firſt related to the violent Battery committed on *William Webb*, in the Forks of *Delaware*, whereby his Jaw-bone was broke, and his Life greatly endangered, by an unknown *Indian*. *Canaſſatego* repeating the Meſſage delivered to the *Six Nations* by *Shickcalamy*, in the Year 1740, with a String of Wampum, ſaid in Anſwer: 'The *Six Nations* had 'made diligent Enquiry into the Affair, and had 'found out the *Indian* who had committed the 'Fact; he lived near *Aſopus*, and had been ex-'amined and ſeverely reprov'd: And they hoped,

'as *William Webb* was recovered, the Governor 'would not expect any further Punishment; and 'therefore they returned the String of Wampum 'received from their Brethren, by the Hand of '*Shickcalamy*, in Token that they had fully com-'plied with their Request.'

I thank'd them, said he, for their Care; but reminded them, that though the Man did not die, yet he lay a long Time in extreme Misery, and would never recover the free Use of his Speech, and was rendered less able to get his Livelihood; and in such Cases the *English* Laws obliged the Assailant to make good all Damages, besides paying for the Pain endured.—But as the *Indian* was, in all Probability, poor and unable to make Satisfaction, I told them, that for their Sake I would forgive him; adding, had *Webb* died, I make no Doubt but you would have put the *Indian* to Death, just as we did two of our People who had killed an *Indian*; we caused them to be hung on a Gallows, in the Presence of many Hundreds of our People, to deter all others from doing the like. *Canassatego* made me this Reply: 'The *Indians* know no Punishment but Death; they 'have no such Thing as pecuniary Mulcts; if a 'Man be guilty of a Crime, he is either put to 'Death, or the Fault is overlook'd. We have 'often heard of your Hanging-up those two Per-'sons; but as none of our *Indians* saw the Men 'die, many believe they were not hanged, but 'transported to some other Colony: And it would 'be satisfactory to the *Indians*, if, for the future, 'some of them be sent for, to be Witnesses of such 'Executions.' I assured them, that whoever gave them that Information, abused them; for the Persons certainly suffered Death, and in the Presence of all the People.

Canassatego then proceeded to give an Answer to what was said to them the 2d Instant, relating to *Le Tort*'s Letter: 'That they had, in Council,

'considered

‘ considered in what Manner the Matter recom-
‘ mended to them ought to be conducted; and
‘ they were of Opinion, that as the *Shawaneſe*, not
‘ the *Twightwys* (for they knew ſo much of it, that
‘ the People were of the *Twightwy* Nation in whoſe
‘ Bags the Scalps were found) had ſent me a Preſent
‘ of Skins, I ſhould in return, ſend them a Blanket
‘ or a Kettle, and with it a very ſharp Meſſage, that
‘ tho' they had done well in ſweeping the Road from
‘ Blood, yet that was but a ſmall Part of their
‘ Duty; they ought not to have ſuffered the
‘ *Twightwys*, after their Lye and the Diſcovery of
‘ the Scalps, to have left them, 'till they had given
‘ a full and true Account how they came by them,
‘ whoſe Scalps they were, and in what Place, and
‘ for what Reaſon the Men were kill'd; and when
‘ they had been fully ſatisfied of all theſe Particu-
‘ lars, then it was their Duty to have given Infor-
‘ mation to the Government where the white Peo-
‘ ple lived, that the Murderers might be complain-
‘ ed againſt, and puniſhed by the Nation they be-
‘ longed to: And as the *Shawaneſe* had omitted to
‘ perform the Part of Brethren, that I ſhould re-
‘ prove them for it, and charge them to make
‘ Amends for their Neglect, by uſing all poſſible
‘ Expedition to come at the Knowledge of theſe
‘ Things, and to aid their Brethren the white Peo-
‘ ple in obtaining Juſtice.

The Minutes of the preceding Council being read, Mr. *Logan*, in purſuance of the Board's Direction of Yeſterday, reported, on behalf of himſelf, and the other Gentlemen to whom it was recommended, that they had confer'd with Mr. *Kinſey*, and requeſted him to conſult the other Members of the Aſſembly concerning the making a Preſent to the *Indians*; and that Mr. *Kinſey* having collected the Sentiments of ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly in Town, whom he had confer'd with on that Subject, found them generally of Opinion, that a Preſent ſhould at

this Time be made; but that they had declined nominating any Sum: However, that Mr. *Kinsey* had given it as his own Opinion, that the Governor and Council might go as far as *three hundred Pounds.*

And accordingly it is refer'd to Mr. *Logan*, Mr. *Preston*, and Mr. *Lawrence*, to consider of, and prepare a proper List of the Goods whereof the Present should be composed, to the Value of *three hundred Pounds*, as aforesaid; advising with the Interpreter as to the Quantity and Quality.

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor's, the 9th of *July*, P. M. 1742.

PRESENT

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Robert Strettell*, *Samuel Preston*, *Abraham Taylor*, } Esqrs;

The CHIEFS of the *Six Nations.*

SASSOONAN, and the *Delawares.*

NUTIMUS, and the *Fork-Indians.*

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

The Governor spoke to the Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, as follows:

'*BRETHREN*,

'The last Time the Chiefs of the *Six Nations* 'were here, they were informed, that your Cousins, 'a Branch of the *Delawares*, gave this Province 'some Disturbance about the Lands the Proprietor 'purchased from them, and for which their An-'cestors had received a valuable Consideration above '*fifty-five* Years ago, as appears by a Deed now 'lying on the Table.—Sometime after this, *Conrad* '*Weiser* delivered to your Brother *Thomas Penn*

'your

'your Letter, wherein you requeſt of him, and
'*James Logan*, that they would not buy Land, &c.
'—This has been ſhewn to them and interpreted;
'notwithſtanding which they have continued their
'former Diſturbances, and have had the Inſolence
'to write Letters to ſome of the Magiſtrates of this
'Government, wherein they have abuſed your good
'Brethren, our worthy Proprietaries, and treated
'them with the utmoſt Rudeneſs and Ill-Manners.
'Being loth, from our Regard to you, to puniſh
'them as they deſerve, I ſent two Meſſengers to
'inform them that you were expected here, and
'ſhould be acquainted with their Behaviour. — As
'you, on all Occaſions, apply to us to remove all
'white People that are ſettled on Lands before they
'are purchaſed from you, and we do our Endea-
'vours to turn ſuch People off; we now expect
'from you, that you will cauſe theſe *Indians* to re-
'move from the Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*,
'and not give any further Diſturbance to the Per-
'ſons who are now in Poſſeſſion.'

To inforce this we lay down a String of Wampum.

Then were read the ſeveral Conveyances, the Paragraph of the Letter wrote by the Chiefs of the *Six Nations* relating to the *Delawares*; the Letters of the *Fork-Indians* to the Governor and Mr. *Langhorne*, and a Draught of the Land; theſe were then delivered to *Conrad Weiſer*, who was deſired to interpret them to the Chiefs, when they ſhould take this Affair into their Conſideration.

At

At a COUNCIL held *July* 10, 1742.

PRESENT

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Samuel Preston*, *Samuel Hasell*, *Robert Strettell*, } Esqrs;
Clement Plumsted, *Thomas Lawrence*, *Abraham Taylor*,

The Governor laid before the Board an Extract from the Treaty held here the 7th Instant with the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, so far as it related to the Inhabitants of *Maryland*; as also a Letter he had prepared for the Governor of *Maryland* upon that Subject; both of which being approved, were ordered to be transcribed fair, in order to be dispatch'd the following Morning. The Letter was as follows:

SIR, Philadelphia, July 10, 1742.

THE inclosed Extract of the Speech made by the Chiefs of the Six Nations, *before a very numerous Audience, in this Place, with my Answer to it, is of so great Importance to all his Majesty's Colonies in this Part of his Dominions, and to your Government in particular, that I have employ'd a special Messenger to deliver it you. I hope you will enable me to send them a satisfactory Answer. It would be impertinent in me to say more to one so well informed as you are of these Nations, and of their absolute Authority over all the* Indians *bordering upon us, or of the Advantages of maintaining a strict Friendship with them at all Times, but more especially at this critical Juncture.*

I am, Yours, *&c.*

An

An Account exhibited by *Conrad Weiſer* of his Expences upon the *Indians*, and *Indian* Affairs, from *February* laſt to *July* 1, 1742, amounting to 36*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* was laid before the Board, and examin'd, and allow'd to be a juſt and very moderate Account.

And the Board taking into Conſideration the many ſignal Services performed by the ſaid *Conrad Weiſer* to this Government, his Diligence and Labour in the Service thereof, and his Skill in the *Indian* Languages and Methods of Buſineſs, are of Opinion, that the ſaid *Conrad* ſhould be allowed, as a Reward from the Province at this Time, the Sum of *Thirty Pounds*, at leaſt, beſides Payment of his ſaid Account.

At a COUNCIL held at the Great Meeting-Houſe, *July* 10. *P. M.* 1742.

PRESENT

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Samuel Preſton*,
Thomas Lawrence, *Samuel Haſell*,
Abraham Taylor, *Robert Strettell*, } Eſqrs;

CANASSATEGO, *SHICKCALAMY*, } And other *Indian* Chiefs.

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

And a great Number of the Inhabitants of *Philadelphia*.

The Governor ſpoke to the *Indians* as follows:

'*BRETHREN*,

'This Meeting will be ſhort: It is in order to 'make you a Preſent from the Governor, the Coun- 'cil, the Aſſembly, and all our People. *William* '*Penn* was known to you to be a good and faithful 'Friend to all the *Indians*: He made a League of 'Friendſhip with you, by which we became one 'People.

'People. This League has often ſince been re-
'new'd by friendly Treaties; and as you have de-
'clared that the Friendſhip ſhall always laſt on
'your Parts, ſo we would have you believe that it
'ſhall remain inviolable on ours while the Sun and
'Moon endure.

'I gave you ſome Expectation of a Preſent, and
'we have it now ready to deliver to you. This
'Preſent is made you by the Governor, Council, Aſ-
'ſembly, and all our People, in Conſideration of
'the great Miſeries and Diſtreſſes which you our
'good Friends have lately ſuffered. This will be
'ſome Relief to you for the preſent, and it's to be
'hoped your own Induſtry will ſoon retrieve your
'Circumſtances.

'It has ſometimes happened, and may happen
'again, that idle and untrue Stories are carried to
'you concerning us your Brethren; but our Deſire
'is, and we expect it from you, that you will give
'no Credit to them; for we are, and always will
'be, your ſteady and ſincere Friends.

'It is a Cuſtom when we renew our Treaties
'with our good Friends the *Indians*, to clear the
'Road, and make our Fire burn bright: We have
'done ſo upon this Occaſion; and, in Token of
'our Sincerity, we deliver you, as a Preſent from
'the Governor, the Council, the Aſſembly, and all
'the People of *Penſylvania*, the following Goods,
'*viz.*

24 *Guns.*
600 *Pounds of Lead.*
600 *Pounds of Powder.*
25 *Strowdes* } *Match-*
90 *Duffil* } *Coats.*
30 *Blankets.*
62 *Yards of Half-Thicks.*
60 *Ruffled Shirts.*
25 *Hats.*
1000 *Flints.*
50 *Hoes.*
50 *Hatchets.*
5 *Pounds of Vermilion*
10 *Dozen of Knives.*
8 *Dozen of Gimblets.*
2 *Dozen of Tobacco-Tongs.*
25 *Pair of Shoes.*
25 *Pair of Stockings.*
25 *Pair of Buckles.*

Where-

Whereupon the Chiefs, and all the *Indians*, returned their ſolemn Thanks; and *Canaſſatego* ſaid, 'They had no more to ſay as to publick Buſineſs 'at preſent; but they had ſomewhat under Deli- 'beration, which, when they had duly conſidered, 'they would communicate.

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor's, *July* 12, 1742.

PRESENT

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Clement Plumſted*, *Thomas Lawrence*, *Abraham Taylor*, *Robert Strettell*, } Eſqrs;

Mr. *Richard Peters*.

CANASSATEGO, *SHICKCALAMY*, } And ſundry Chiefs of the *Six Nations*.

SASSOONAN, and the *Delawares*.

NUTTIMUS, and the *Fork-Indians*.

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

Piſquetoman, *Cornelius Spring*, *Nicholas Scull*, } Interpreters to the *Fork-Indians*.

CANASSATEGO ſaid:

'*BRETHREN*, *the Governor and Council*,

'The other Day you informed us of the Miſbe- 'haviour of our Couſins the *Delawares*, with re- 'ſpect to their continuing to claim, and refuſing to 'remove from ſome Land on the River *Delaware*, 'notwithſtanding their Anceſtors had ſold it by a 'Deed under their Hands and Seals to the Proprie- 'taries, for a valuable Conſideration, upwards of '*fifty* Years ago; and notwithſtanding that, they 'themſelves had alſo not many Years ago, after a

'long and full Examination, ratified that Deed of 'their Anceſtors, and given a freſh one under their 'Hands and Seals; and then you requeſted us to 'remove them, inforcing your Requeſt with a 'String of Wampum.—Afterwards we laid on the 'Table our own Letters by *Conrad Weiſer*; ſome 'of our Couſins Letters, and the ſeveral Writ-'ings to prove the Charge againſt our Couſins, 'with a Draught of the Land in Diſpute.—We 'now tell you, we have peruſed all theſe ſeveral 'Papers: We ſee with our own Eyes, that they 'have been a very unruly People, and are altoge-'ther in the Wrong in their Dealings with you.— 'We have concluded to remove them, and oblige 'them to go over the River *Delaware*, and quit all 'Claim to any Lands on this Side for the future, 'ſince they have received Pay for them, and it is 'gone thro' their Guts long ago.—To confirm to you 'that we will ſee your Requeſt executed, we lay 'down this String of Wampum in return for yours.'

Then turning to the *Delawares*, holding a Belt of Wampum in his Hand, he ſpoke to them as follows:

COUSINS,

'Let this Belt of Wampum ſerve to chaſtiſe 'you. You ought to be taken by the Hair of the 'Head and ſhaked ſeverely, till you recover your 'Senſes and become ſober. You don't know what 'Ground you ſtand on, nor what you are doing. 'Our Brother *Onas*'s Cauſe is very juſt and plain, 'and his Intentions are to preſerve Friendſhip. On 'the other Hand, your Cauſe is bad; your Heart far 'from being upright; and you are maliciouſly bent 'to break the Chain of Friendſhip with our Bro-'ther *Onas*, and his People. We have ſeen with 'our Eyes a Deed ſign'd by nine of your Anceſ-'tors above *fifty* Years ago for this very Land, and 'a Releaſe ſign'd, not many Years ſince, by ſome

'of

‘ of yourſelves and Chiefs now living, to the Num-
‘ ber of fifteen or upwards.—But how came you to
‘ take upon you to ſell Land at all? We conquer-
‘ ed you; we made Women of you; you know
‘ you are Women, and can no more ſell Land than
‘ Women; nor is it fit you ſhould have the Power
‘ of ſelling Lands, ſince you would abuſe it. This
‘ Land that you claim is gone thro' your Guts;
‘ you have been furniſhed with Cloaths, Meat, and
‘ Drink, by the Goods paid you for it, and now
‘ you want it again, like Children as you are.—
‘ But what makes you ſell Land in the Dark? Did
‘ you ever tell us that you had ſold this Land?
‘ Did we ever receive any Part, even the Value of
‘ a Pipe-Shank, from you for it? You have told
‘ us a blind Story, that you ſent a Meſſenger to us
‘ to inform us of the Sale, but he never came
‘ amongſt us, nor we never heard any thing about
‘ it.—This is acting in the Dark, and very diffe-
‘ rent from the Conduct our *Six* Nations obſerve
‘ in the Sales of Land; on ſuch Occaſions they
‘ give publick Notice, and invite all the *Indians* of
‘ their united Nations, and give them all a Share
‘ of the Preſent they receive for their Lands.—This
‘ is the Behaviour of the wiſe united Nations. —
‘ But we find you are none of our Blood: You act
‘ a diſhoneſt Part, not only in this, but in other
‘ Matters: Your Ears are ever open to ſlanderous
‘ Reports about our Brethren; you receive them
‘ with as much Greedineſs as lewd Women receive
‘ the Embraces of bad Men. And for all theſe
‘ Reaſons we charge you to remove inſtantly; we
‘ don't give you the Liberty to think about it.
‘ You are Women. Take the Advice of a wiſe
‘ Man, and remove immediately. You may re-
‘ turn to the other Side of *Delaware* where you
‘ came from: But we do not know whether, con-
‘ ſidering how you have demean'd yourſelves, you
‘ will be permitted to live there; or whether you

‘ have

'have not ſwallowed that Land down your Throats 'as well as the Land on this Side. We therefore 'aſſign you two Places to go, either to *Wyomen* or '*Shamokin*. You may go to either of theſe Places, 'and then we ſhall have you more under our Eye, 'and ſhall ſee how you behave. Don't deliberate; 'but remove away, and take this Belt of Wampum.'

This being interpreted by *Conrad Weiſer* into *Engliſh*, and by *Cornelius Spring* into the *Delaware* Language, *Canaſſetego* taking a String of Wampum, added further.

'After our juſt Reproof, and abſolute Order 'to depart from the Land, you are now to take 'Notice of what we have further to ſay to you. 'This String of Wampum ſerves to forbid you, 'your Children and Grand-Children, to the lateſt 'Poſterity for ever, meddling in Land-Affairs; 'neither you, nor any who ſhall deſcend from you, 'are ever hereafter to preſume to ſell any Land: 'For which purpoſe, you are to preſerve this String, 'in Memory of what your Uncles have this Day 'given you in Charge.—We have ſome other Buſi-'neſs to tranſact with our Brethren, and therefore 'depart the Council, and conſider what has been 'ſaid to you.'

Canaſſatego then ſpoke to the Governor and Council:

'*BRETHREN*,

'We called at our old Friend *James Logan*'s, 'in our Way to this City, and to our Grief we 'found him hid in the Buſhes, and retired, thro' In-'firmities, from publick Buſineſs. We preſs'd 'him to leave his Retirement, and prevailed with 'him to aſſiſt once more on our Account at your 'Councils. We hope, notwithſtanding his Age, and 'the Effects of a Fit of Sickneſs, which we underſtand

'has

'has hurt his Conſtitution, that he may yet continue a long Time to aſſiſt this Province with his Counſels. He is a wiſe Man, and a faſt Friend to the *Indians*. And we deſire, when his Soul goes to GOD, you may chuſe in his Room juſt ſuch another Perſon, of the ſame Prudence and Ability in counſelling, and of the ſame tender Diſpoſition and Affection for the *Indians*. In Teſtimony of our Gratitude for all his Services, and becauſe he was ſo good as to leave his Country-Houſe, and follow us to Town, and be at the Trouble, in this his advanced Age, to attend the Council, we preſent him with this Bundle of Skins.'

'*BRETHREN*,

'It is always our Way, at the Concluſion of a Treaty, to deſire you will uſe your Endeavours with the Traders, that they may ſell their Goods cheaper, and give us a better Price for our Deer-Skins. Whenever any particular Sort of *Indian* Goods is ſcarce, they conſtantly make us pay the dearer on that Account. We muſt now uſe the ſame Argument with them: Our Deer are killed in ſuch Quantities, and our Hunting-Countries grown leſs every Day by the Settlement of white People, that Game is now difficult to find, and we muſt go a great Way in queſt of it; they therefore ought to give us a better Price for our Skins; and we deſire you would ſpeak to them to do ſo. We have been ſtinted in the Article of Rum in Town. We deſire you will open the Rum-Bottle, and give it to us in greater Abundance on the Road.'

To inforce our Requeſt, about the Indian *Traders, we preſent you with this Bundle of Skins.*

BRETHREN,

'When we first came to your Houses, we found 'them clean and in Order; but we have staid so 'long as to dirty them; which is to be imputed 'to our different Way of Living from the white 'People: And therefore, as we cannot but have 'been disagreeable to you on this Account, we pre-'sent you with some Skins to make your Houses 'clean, and put them into the same Condition they 'were in when we came amongst you.'

BRETHREN,

'The Business the *Five* Nations transact with you 'is of great Consequence, and requires a skilful and 'honest Person to go between us; one in whom both 'you and we can place a Confidence.—We esteem 'our present Interpreter to be such a Person, equally 'faithful in the Interpretation of whatever is said 'to him by either of us, equally allied to both; he 'is of our Nation, and a Member of our Council, 'as well as of yours. When we adopted him, we 'divided him into two equal Parts: One we kept 'for ourselves, and one we left for you. He has had 'a great deal of trouble with us, wore out his Shoes 'in our Messages, and dirty'd his Clothes by being 'amongst us, so that he is become as nasty as an '*Indian.*

'In Return for these Services, we recommend 'him to your Generosity; and on our own Behalf, 'we give him *Five Skins* to buy him Clothes and 'Shoes with.'

BRETHREN,

'We have still one more Favour to ask. Our 'Treaty, and all we have to say about publick Bu-'siness, is now over, and to-morrow we design to 'leave you. We hope, as you have given us 'Plenty of good Provision whilst in Town, that

'you

'you will continue your Goodneſs ſo far as to ſup-
'ply us with a little more to ſerve us on the Road.
'And we likewiſe deſire you will provide us with
'Waggons, to carry our Goods to the Place where
'they are to be conveyed by Water.'

To theſe ſeveral Points the Governor made the following Reply.

BRETHREN of the Six Nations,

'The Judgment you have juſt now paſs'd on
'your Couſins the *Delawares*, confirms the high
'Opinion we have ever entertained of the Juſtice of
'the *Six Nations*. This Part of your Character, for
'which you are deſervedly famed, made us wave
'doing ourſelves Juſtice, in order to give you an-
'other Opportunity of convincing the World of
'your inviolable Attachment to your Engagements.
'Theſe unhappy People might have always liv'd
'eaſy, having never receiv'd the leaſt Injury from
'us; but we believe ſome of our own People were
'bad enough to impoſe on their Credulity, and en-
'gage them in theſe wrong Meaſures, which we
'wiſh, for their Sakes, they had avoided.

'We hoped, from what we have conſtantly given
'in Charge to the *Indian* Traders, that they would
'have adminiſtred no juſt Cauſe of Complaint: If
'they do you Wrong, it is againſt our Inclinations,
'and contrary to our expreſs Directions. As you
'have exhibited no particular Charge againſt them,
'we ſhall uſe our beſt Endeavours to perſuade them
'to give you as much for your Skins as they can
'poſſibly afford; and to take Care that their Goods
'which they give in Exchange for Skins, be of the
'beſt Sort. We will likewiſe order you ſome Rum to
'ſerve you on your journey home, ſince you deſire it.

'We wiſh there had been more Room and bet-
'ter Houſes provided for your Entertainment; but
'not expecting ſo many of you, we did the beſt

'we could. 'Tis true, there are a great many 'Houſes in Town, but as they are the Property 'of other People, who have their own Families to 'take care of, it is difficult to procure Lodgings 'for a large Number of People, eſpecially if they 'come unexpectedly.

'We entertain the ſame Sentiments of the Abi-'lities and Probity of the Interpreter as you have 'expreſs'd. We were induc'd at firſt to make uſe 'of him in this important Truſt, from his being 'known to be agreeable to you, and one who had 'lived amongſt you for ſome Years, in good Credit 'and Eſteem with all your Nations; and have ever 'found him equally faithful to both. We are pleas'd 'with the Notice you have taken of him, and think 'he richly deſerves it at your Hands. We ſhall 'not be wanting to make him a ſuitable Gratifica-'tion, for the many good and faithful Services he 'hath done this Government.

'We have already given Orders for Waggons 'to carry your Goods, and for a Supply of Provi-'ſions to ſerve you on the Road in your Return 'home, where we heartily wiſh you may arrive in 'good Health.'

After the Governor had concluded, Mr. *Logan* return'd an Anſwer to that Part of *Canaſſatego*'s Speech which related to him, and ſaid, 'That not 'only upon the Account of his Lameneſs, of which 'the *Indians* themſelves were Witneſſes; but on 'Account of another Indiſpoſition, which about 'three Years ſince had laid him under an Incapa-'city of expreſſing himſelf with his former uſual 'Freedom, he had been obliged to live retired in 'the Country. But that our firſt Proprietor, the 'Honourable *William Penn*, who had ever been a 'Father and true Friend to all the *Indians*, having 'above forty Years ſince recommended them to 'his particular Care, he had always, from his own 'Inclination, as well as from that ſtrict Charge,

'endeavoured

'endeavoured to convince all the *Indians*, that he 'was their true Friend; and was now well pleaſed, 'that after a Tract of ſo many Years, they were 'not inſenſible of it. He thanked them kindly 'for their Preſent, and heartily joined with them 'in their Deſires, that this Government may always 'be furniſhed with Perſons of equally good Incli-'nations, and not only with ſuch, but alſo with 'better Abilities to ſerve them.'

And then *Canaſſatego* ſaid, he had forgot to mention, that *Shickcalamy* and *Caxhayn* had been employ'd on ſeveral Meſſages to this Government, and deſir'd they might be conſider'd on that Account.

At a COUNCIL held the 12th of *July*, P. M. 1742.

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Samuel Preſton*,
Clement Plumſted, *Thomas Lawrence*,
Samuel Haſell, *Abraham Taylor*,
Robert Strettell,
} Eſqrs;

Mr. *Richard Peters*.

The Board taking into Conſideration the Regulation of the neceſſary Expences of the *Indians* travelling down hither, and returning; and upon an Eſtimate made by *Conrad Weiſer*, amounting to about *one hundred Pounds*, it appearing that the ſaid Sum of 100 *l.* will be neceſſary to be advanced to *Conrad Weiſer* to defray thoſe Expences, Mr. *Logan*, on the Proprietaries Behalf, propoſes to advance 40 *l.* and the Treaſurer declaring he had no publick Money in his Hands, and that if he had, he would not advance Money without the Aſſembly's Order; it is recommended to Mr. *Preſton* and Mr. *Lawrence*, to confer with Mr. *Kinſey*, and know whether he, as Speaker of the Aſſembly,

and Truſtee of the Loan-Office, will advance the other 60 *l.*

And the *Indians* having requeſted that they might have a ſmall Quantity of Rum, to be added to their Proviſions, to comfort them on the Road: The Board is of Opinion, that there be added to the ſaid Eſtimate for twenty Gallons of Rum for the aforeſaid Uſe. And in Return for their Preſent of Skins, at requeſting that the *Indian* Traders be enjoin'd to ſell their Goods cheaper, the Board directs that two Strouds be preſented. And that *five Pounds* be given to *Caxhayn* on the Account of the Province, for his Services; and to *Shickcalamy* the like Sum.

A juſt Copy, compared by

PATRICK BAIRD, Secr.

A

TREATY,

Held at the TOWN of

Lancaſter, in PENSYLVANIA,

By the HONOURABLE the

Lieutenant-Governor of the PROVINCE,

And the HONOURABLE the

Commiſſioners for the PROVINCES

OF

VIRGINIA *and* MARYLAND,

WITH THE

INDIANS

OF THE

SIX NATIONS,

In *JUNE*, 1744.

A Treaty with the *INDIANS* of the SIX NATIONS.

In the COURT-HOUSE in the Town of *Lancaſter*, on *Friday* the Twenty-ſecond of *June*, 1744,

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Lieut. Governor of the Province of *Penſylvania*, and Counties of *Newcaſtle*, *Kent* and *Suſſex*, on *Delaware*.

The Hon^ble *Thomas Lee*, Eſq; } Commiſſioners
Colonel *William Beverly*, } of *Virginia*.

The Hon^ble *Edm. Jennings*, Eſq;
Philip Thomas, Eſq;
Colonel *Robert King*,
Colonel *Thomas Colville*,
} Commiſſioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Onandagoes*, *Senecas*, *Cayogoes*, *Oneidas* and *Tuſcaroraes*.

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

THE Governor and the Commiſſioners took ſome of the *Indian* Chiefs by the Hand, and, after they had ſeated themſelves, the Governor bid them welcome into the Government; and there being Wine and Punch prepared for them, the Governor and the ſeveral Commiſſioners drank Health to the *Six Nations*; and *Canaſſatego*, *Tachanoontia*,

chanoontia, and ſome other Chiefs, returned the Compliments, drinking the Healths of * *Onas*, † *Aſſaragoa*, and the Governor of *Maryland*.

After they were all ſerved with Wine, Punch, Pipes and Tobacco, the Governor told the *Indians*, that as it was cuſtomary, and indeed neceſſary, they ſhould have ſome Time to reſt after ſo long a Journey, and as he thought three Days would be no more than ſufficient for that Purpoſe, he propoſed to ſpeak to them on *Monday* next; after which, the honourable Commiſſioners would take their own Time to deliver what they had to ſay.

CANASSATEGO anſwered the Governor: We thank you for giving us Time to reſt; we are come to you, and ſhall leave it intirely to you to appoint the Time when we ſhall meet you again. We likewiſe leave it to the Governor of *Maryland*, by whoſe Invitation we came here, to appoint a Time when he will pleaſe to mention the Reaſon of his inviting us. As to our Brother *Aſſaragoa*, we have at this preſent Time nothing to ſay to him; not but we have a great deal to ſay to *Aſſaragoa*, which muſt be ſaid at one Time or another; but not being ſatisfied whether he or we ſhould begin firſt, we ſhall leave it wholly to our Brother *Onas* to adjuſt this between us, and to ſay which ſhall begin firſt.

* *Onas*, the Governor of *Penſylvania*.
† *Aſſaragoa*, the Governor of *Virginia*.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *June* 25, 1744. *A. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

The GOVERNOR ſpoke as follows.

Honourable Gentlemen, Commiſſioners for the Governments of Virginia *and* Maryland, *and Brethren, Sachims, or Chiefs of the* Indians *of the* Six Nations.

AT a Treaty, held by me two Years ago, in Behalf of the Government of *Penſylvania*, with a Number of the Chiefs of the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, I was deſired by them to write to the Governor of *Maryland* concerning ſome Lands in the back Parts of that Province, which they claim a Right to from their Conqueſts over the ancient Poſſeſſors, and which have been ſettled by ſome of the Inhabitants of that Government, without their Conſent, or any Purchaſe made from them. It was at that time underſtood that the Claim was upon *Maryland* only; but it has ſince appeared, by ſome Letters formerly wrote by Mr. Preſident *Logan* to the late Governor of *Maryland*, that it related likewiſe to ſome Lands in the back Parts of *Virginia*. The Governors of thoſe Colonies ſoon manifeſted a truly equitable Diſpoſition to come to any reaſonable Terms with the *Six Nations* on account of thoſe Lands,

Lands, and desired, that for that End a Time and Place might be fixed for a Treaty with them; but before this could be effected, an unfortunate Skirmish happened in the back Parts of *Virginia*, between some of the Militia there, and a Party of the *Indian* Warriors of the *Six Nations*, with some Loss on both Sides. Who were the Aggressors is not at this time to be discussed, both Parties having agreed to bury that Affair in Oblivion, and the Government of *Virginia* having, in Token of the Continuance of their Friendship, presented the *Six Nations*, through my Hands, with Goods to the Value of One Hundred Pounds Sterling. To prevent further Hostilities, and to heal this Breach, I had, before the Present was given, made a Tender of my good Office; which both Parties accepted, and consented, on my Instances, to lay down their Arms: Since which the Faith pledged to me has been mutually preserved, and a Time and Place has been agreed upon, through my Intervention, for accommodating all Differences, and for settling a firm Peace, Union and Friendship, as well between the Government of *Virginia* as that of *Maryland*, and the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* *. The honourable the Commissioners for these two Governments, and the Deputies of the *Six Nations*, are now met at the Place appointed for the Treaty. It only remains therefore for me to say, that if my further good Offices shall be thought useful for the Accomplishment of this Work, you may rely most assuredly upon them.

But I hope, honourable Gentlemen Commissioners, it will not be taken amiss if I go a little further, and briefly represent to you, how especially necessary it is at this Juncture, for his Majesty's Service, and

* This was allowed, at a Conference had by the Governor with the Commissioners, to be a just State of the Transactions preceding the Treaty.

and the Good of all his Colonies in this Part of his Dominions, that Peace and Friendſhip be eſtabliſhed between your Governments and the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*.

Theſe *Indians*, by their Situation, are a Frontier to ſome of them; and, from thence, if Friends, are capable of defending their Settlements; if Enemies, of making cruel Ravages upon them; if Neuters, they may deny the *French* a Paſſage through their Country, and give us timely Notice of their Deſigns. Theſe are but ſome of the Motives for cultivating a Good Underſtanding with them; but from hence the Diſadvantages of a Rupture are abundantly evident. Every Advantage you gain over them in War will be a weakening of the Barrier of thoſe Colonies, and conſequently be, in effect, Victories over yourſelves and your Fellow Subjects. Some Allowances for their Prejudices and Paſſions, and a Preſent now and then for the Relief of their Neceſſities, which have, in ſome Meaſure, been brought upon them by their Intercourſe with us, and by our yearly extending our Settlements, will probably tie them more cloſely to the *Britiſh* Intereſt. This has been the Method of *New-York* and *Penſylvania*, and will not put you to ſo much Expence in twenty Years, as the carrying on a War againſt them will do in one. The *French* very well know the Importance of theſe Nations to us, and will not fail by Preſents, and their other uſual Arts, to take Advantage of any Miſunderſtanding we may have with them †. But I will detain

† The two preceding Paragraphs were allowed by the Commiſſioners of *Virginia*, whilſt they were at *Philadelphia*, to be very proper to be ſpoken by the Governor of *Penſylvania* at the Opening of the Treaty; but taking up an Opinion, from what paſſed at the firſt friendly Interview with the *Indians*, that they would not make any Claim upon Lands within the Government of *Virginia*, the Governor conſented to decline ſpeaking them in the Preſence of the *Indians*.

tain you, Gentlemen, no onger. Your own ſuperior Knowledge will ſuggeſt to you more than I can ſay on this Subject.

Friends and Brethren, Sachems, or Chiefs of the Indians *of the* Six Nations:

Theſe, your Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are come to enlarge the Fire, which was almoſt gone out, and to make it burn clearer; to brighten the Chain which had contracted ſome Ruſt, and to renew their Friendſhip with you; which it is their Deſire may laſt ſo long as the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, ſhall give Light. Their Powers are derived from the *Great King* of ENGLAND, your Father; and whatever Concluſions they ſhall come to with you, will be as firm and binding as if the Governors of theſe Provinces were themſelves here. I am your Brother, and, which is more, I am your true Friend. As you know, from Experience, that I am ſo, I will now give you a few Words of Advice. Receive theſe your Brethren with open Arms; unite yourſelves to them in the Covenant Chain, and be you with them as one Body, and one Soul. I make no doubt but the Governor of *Canada* has been taking Pains to widen the Breach between theſe your Brethren of *Virginia* and you; but as you cannot have forgot the Hatred the *French* have always borne to your Nations, and how kindly, on the contrary, you have been treated, how faithfully you have been protected by the *Great King of* ENGLAND and his Subjects, you will not be at a Loſs to ſee into the Deſigns of that Governor. He wants to divide you from us, in order the more eaſily to deſtroy you, which he will moſt certainly do, if you ſuffer yourſelves to be deluded by him.

As to what relates to the Friendſhip eſtabliſhed between the Government of *Penſylvania* and your Nations, I will take another Day to ſpeak to you upon it.

To enforce what had been ſaid, the GOVERNOR *laid down a Belt of Wampum; upon which the* Indians *gave the* * Yo-hah.

After a ſhort Pauſe, the Governor ordered the Interpreter to tell the *Indians*, that as they had greatly exceeded their appointed Time for meeting the Commiſſioners, he recommended to them to uſe all the Expedition poſſible in giving their Anſwer to what had been ſaid, that they might forthwith proceed to treat with the reſpective Commiſſioners on the Buſineſs they came about.

Then *Canaſſatego* repeated to the Interpreter the Subſtance of what the Governor had ſpoke, in order to know if he had underſtood him right (a Method generally made uſe of by the *Indians*) and when the Interpreter told him he had taken the true Senſe, *Canaſſatego* proceeded to return the Thanks of the *Six Nations* for the Governor's kind Advice, promiſing to follow it as far as lay in their Power; but as it was their Cuſtom when a Belt was given to return another, they would take Time till the Afternoon to provide one, and would then give their Anſwer.

* The *Yo-hah* denotes Approbation, being a loud Shout or Cry, conſiſting of a few Notes pronounced by all the *Indians* in a very muſical Manner, in the Nature of our Huzza's.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *June* 25, 1744. *P. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, *&c.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

Canaſſatego's *Anſwer to the Governor's Speech delivered in the Morning.*

Brother Onas,

YOU ſpoke in the Preſence of *Aſſaragoa* and the Governor of *Maryland* to us, adviſing us to receive them as our Brethren, and to unite with them in the Covenant Chain as one Body, and one Soul. We have always conſidered them as our Brethren, and, as ſuch, ſhall be willing to brighten the Chain of Friendſhip with them; but ſince there are ſome Diſputes between us reſpecting the Lands poſſeſſed by them, which formerly belonged to us, we, according to our Cuſtom, propoſe to have thoſe Differences firſt adjuſted, and then we ſhall proceed to confirm the Friendſhip ſubſiſting between us, which will meet with no Obſtruction after theſe Matters are ſettled.

Here

Here they presented the GOVERNOR *with a Belt of Wampum, in return for the Belt given them in the Morning by the* GOVERNOR; *and the Interpreter was ordered to return the* Yo-hah.

Then the GOVERNOR, *in Reply, spoke as follows:*

I receive your Belt with great Kindness and Affection; and as to what relates to the Governments of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, the honourable Commissioners, now present, are ready to treat with you. I shall only add, that the Goods for the Hundred Pounds Sterling, put into my Hands by the Governor of *Virginia*, as a Token of his good Dispositions to preserve Friendship with you, are now in Town, and ready to be delivered, in consequence of what was told you by *Conrad Weiser* when he was last at *Onandago*.

Then the Governor, turning to the Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, said, Gentlemen, I have now finished what was incumbent upon me to say by way of Introduction to the *Indians*; and as you have a full Authority from your respective Governments to treat with them, I shall leave the rest intirely to you, and either stay or withdraw, as you shall think most for your Service.

The Commissioners said, They were all of Opinion, it would be for their Advantage that the Governor should stay with them; and therefore they unanimously desired he would favour them with the Continuance of his Presence whilst they should be in Treaty with the *Indians*: Which his Honour said he would at their Instance very readily do, believing it might expedite their Business, and prevent any Jealousy the *Indians* might conceive at his withdrawing.

The Commiſſioners of Maryland *ordered the Interpreter to acquaint the* Indians *that the Government of* Maryland *was going to ſpeak to them, and then ſpoke as follows:*

Friends and Brethren of the united Six Nations,

We, who are deputed from the Government of *Maryland* by a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of that Province, now in our Hands (and which will be interpreted to you) bid you welcome; and in Token that we are very glad to ſee you here as Brethren, we give you this String of Wampum.

Upon which the Indians *gave the* Yo-hah.

When the Governor of *Maryland* received the firſt Notice, about ſeven Years ago, of your Claim to ſome Lands in that Province, he thought our good Friends and Brethren of the *Six Nations* had little Reaſon to complain of any Injury from *Maryland*, and that they would be ſo well convinced thereof, on farther Deliberation, as he ſhould hear no more of it; but you ſpoke of that Matter again to the Governor of *Penſylvania*, about two Years ſince, as if you deſigned to terrify us.

It was very inconſiderately ſaid by you, that you would do yourſelves Juſtice, by going to take Payment yourſelves: Such an Attempt would have intirely diſſolved the Chain of Friendſhip ſubſiſting, not only between us, but perhaps the other *Engliſh* and you.

We aſſure you, our People, who are numerous, courageous, and have Arms ready in their Hands, will not ſuffer themſelves to be hurt in their Lives and Eſtates.

But, however, the old and wiſe People of *Maryland* immediately met in Council, and upon conſidering very cooly your raſh Expreſſions, agreed to invite their Brethren, the *Six Nations*, to this Place,

Place, that they might learn of them what Right they have to the Land in *Maryland*, and, if they had any, to make them ſome reaſonable Compenſation for it; therefore the Governor of *Maryland* has ſent us to meet and treat with you about this Affair, and the brightening and ſtrengthening the Chain which hath long ſubſiſted between us. And as an Earneſt of our Sincerity and Good-will towards you, we preſent you with this Belt of Wampum.

On which the Indians *gave the* Yo-hah.

Our *Great King of* ENGLAND, and his Subjects, have always poſſeſſed the Province of *Maryland* free and undiſturbed from any Claim of the *Six Nations* for above one hundred Years paſt, and your not ſaying any thing to us before, convinces us you thought you had no Pretence to any Lands in *Maryland*; nor can we yet find out to what Lands, or under what Title you make your Claim: For the *Saſquahannah Indians*, by a Treaty above ninety Years ſince (which is on the Table, and will be interpreted to you) give, and yield to the *Engliſh* Nation, their Heirs and Aſſigns for ever, the greateſt Part (if not all) of the Lands we poſſeſs, from *Patuxent* River, on the Weſtern, as well as from *Choptank* River, on the Eaſtern Side of the Great Bay of *Cheſſapeak*. And, near Sixty Years ago, you acknowledged to the Governor of *New-York* at *Albany*, "That you had given your Lands, and ſubmitted yourſelves to the King of *England*."

We are that Great King's Subjects, and we poſſeſs and enjoy the Province of *Maryland* by Virtue of his Right and Sovereignty thereto; why, then, will you ſtir up any Quarrel between you and ourſelves, who are as one Man, under the Protection of that Great King?

We need not put you in mind of the Treaty (which we ſuppoſe you have had from your Fathers) made with the Province of *Maryland* near Seventy Years ago, and renewed and confirmed twice ſince that time.

By theſe Treaties we became Brethren; we have always lived as ſuch, and hope always to continue ſo.

We have this further to ſay, that altho' we are not ſatisfied of the Juſtice of your Claim to any Lands in *Maryland*, yet we are deſirous of ſhewing our Brotherly Kindneſs and Affection, and to prevent (by any reaſonable Way) every Miſunderſtanding between the Province of *Maryland* and you our Brethren of the *Six Nations*.

For this Purpoſe we have brought hither a Quantity of Goods for our Brethren the *Six Nations*, and which will be delivered you as ſoon as we ſhall have received your Anſwer, and made ſo bright and large a Fire as may burn pure and clear whilſt the Sun and Moon ſhall ſhine.

We have now freely and openly laid our Boſoms bare to you; and that you may be the better confirmed of the Truth of our Hearts, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

After a little Time Canaſſatego *ſpoke as follows:*

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

We have heard what you have ſaid to us; and, as you have gone back to old Times, we cannot give you an Anſwer now, but ſhall take what you have ſaid into Conſideration, and, return you our Anſwer ſome Time to Morrow. He then ſat down, and after ſome Time he ſpoke again.

Brother,

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

If you have made any Enquiry into *Indian* Affairs, you will know, that we have always had our Guns, Hatchets and Kettles mended when we came to see our Brethren. Brother *Onas*, and the Governor of *York* always do this for us; and we give you this early Notice, that we may not thereby be delayed, being desirous, as well as you, to give all possible Dispatch to the Business to be transacted between us.

The Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland* said, since it was customary, they would give Orders to have every Thing belonging to them mended that should want it.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, *June* 26, 1744, *P. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, *&c.*

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia.*

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

CANASSATEGO spoke as follows:

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

WHEN you invited us to kindle a Council Fire with you, *Conedogwainet* was the Place agreed upon; but afterwards you, by Brother *Onas*, upon second Thoughts, considering that it would be difficult to get Provisions and other Accommo-

dations where there were but few Houſes or Inhabitants, deſired we would meet our Brethren at *Lancaſter*, and at his Inſtances we very readily agreed to meet you here, and are glad of the Change; for we have found Plenty of every thing; and as Yeſterday you bid us welcome, and told us you were glad to ſee us, we likewiſe aſſure you we are as glad to ſee you; and, in Token of our Satisfaction, we preſent you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

You tell us, that when about Seven Years ago you heard, by our Brother *Onas*, of our Claim to ſome Lands in your Province, you took no Notice of it, believing, as you ſay, that when we ſhould come to reconſider that Matter, we ſhould find that we had no Right to make any Complaint of the Governor of *Maryland*, and would drop our Demand. And that when about two Years ago we mentioned it again to our Brother *Onas*, you ſay we did it in ſuch Terms as looked like a Deſign to terrify you; and you tell us further, that we muſt be beſide ourſelves, in uſing ſuch a raſh Expreſſion as to tell you, We know how to do ourſelves Juſtice if you ſtill refuſe. It is true we did ſay ſo, but without any ill Deſign; for we muſt inform you, that when we firſt deſired our Brother *Onas* to uſe his Influence with you to procure us Satisfaction for our Lands, we, at the ſame time, deſired him, in caſe you ſhould diſregard our Demand, to write to the Great King beyond the Seas, who would own us for his Children as well as you, to compel you to do us Juſtice: And, two years ago, when we found that you had paid no Regard to our juſt Demand, nor that Brother *Onas* had convey'd our Complaint to the Great King over the Seas, we were reſolved to

uſe

uſe ſuch Expreſſions as would make the greateſt Impreſſions on your Minds, and we find it had its Effect; for you tell us, "That your wiſe Men "held a Council together, and agreed to invite us, "and to enquire of our Right to any of your "Lands, and if it ſhould be found that we had a "Right, we were to have a Compenſation made "for them: And likewiſe you tell us, that our "Brother, the Governor of *Maryland*, by the ad-"vice of theſe wiſe Men, has ſent you to brighten "the Chain, and to aſſure us of his Willingneſs to "remove whatever impedes a good Underſtand-"ing between us." This ſhews that your wiſe Men underſtood our Expreſſions in their true Senſe. We had no Deſign to terrify you, but to put you on doing us the Juſtice you had ſo long delayed. Your wiſe Men have done well; and as there is no Obſtacle to a good Underſtanding between us, except this Affair of our Land, we, on our Parts, do give you the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of our good Diſpoſition towards you, and that we are as deſirous as you to brighten the Chain, and to put away all Hindrances to a perfect good Underſtanding; and, in Token of our Sincerity, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received, and the Interpreter ordered to give the Yo-hah.

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

When you mentioned the Affair of the Land Yeſterday, you went back to old Times, and told us, you had been in Poſſeſſion of the Province of *Maryland* above One Hundred Years; but what is One Hundred Years in Compariſon of the Length of Time ſince our Claim began? ſince we came out of this Ground? For we muſt tell you, that long before One Hundred Years our Anceſtors came out of this very Ground, and their Children have remained

mained here ever ſince. You came out of the Ground in a Country that lies beyond the Seas, there you may have a juſt Claim, but here you muſt allow us to be your elder Brethren, and the Lands to belong to us long before you knew any thing of them. It is true, that above One Hundred Years ago the *Dutch* came here in a Ship, and brought with them ſeveral Goods; ſuch as Awls, Knives, Hatchets, Guns, and many other Particulars, which they gave us; and when they had taught us how to uſe their Things, and we ſaw what ſort of People they were, we were ſo well pleaſed with them, that we tied their Ship to the Buſhes on the Shore; and afterwards, liking them ſtill better the longer they ſtaid with us, and thinking the Buſhes too ſlender, we removed the Rope, and tied it to the Trees; and as the Trees were liable to be blown down by high Winds, or to decay of themſelves, we, from the Affection we bore them, again removed the Rope, and tied it to a ſtrong and big Rock [*here the Interpreter ſaid, They mean the* Oneido *Country*] and not content with this, for its further Security we removed the Rope to the big Mountain [*here the Interpreter ſays they mean the* Onandago *Country*] and there we tied it very faſt, and roll'd Wampum about it; and, to make it ſtill more ſecure, we ſtood upon the Wampum, and ſat down upon it, to defend it, and to prevent any Hurt coming to it, and did our beſt Endeavours that it might remain uninjured for ever. During all this Time the New-comers, the *Dutch*, acknowledged our Right to the Lands, and ſollicited us, from Time to Time, to grant them Parts of our Country, and to enter into League and Covenant with us, and to become one People with us.

After this the *Engliſh* came into the Country, and, as we were told, became one People with the *Dutch*. About two Years after the Arrival of the *Engliſh*,

Engliſh, an *Engliſh* Governor came to *Albany*, and finding what great Friendſhip ſubſiſted between us and the *Dutch*, he approved it mightily, and deſired to make as ſtrong a League, and to be upon as good Terms with us as the *Dutch* were, with whom he was united, and to become one People with us: And by his further Care in looking into what had paſſed between us, he found that the Rope which tied the Ship to the great Mountain was only faſtened with Wampum, which was liable to break and rot, and to periſh in a Courſe of Years; he therefore told us, he would give us a Silver Chain, which would be much ſtronger, and would laſt for ever. This we accepted, and faſtened the Ship with it, and it has laſted ever ſince. Indeed we have had ſome ſmall Differences with the *Engliſh*, and, during theſe Miſunderſtandings, ſome of their young Men would, by way of Reproach, be every now and then telling us, that we ſhould have periſhed if they had not come into the Country and furniſhed us with Strowds and Hatchets, and Guns, and other Things neceſſary for the Support of Life; but we always gave them to underſtand that they were miſtaken, that we lived before they came amongſt us, and as well, or better, if we may believe what our Forefathers have told us. We had then Room enough, and Plenty of Deer, which was eaſily caught; and tho' we had not Knives, Hatchets, or Guns, ſuch as we have now, yet we had Knives of Stone, and Hatchets of Stone, and Bows and Arrows, and thoſe ſerved our Uſes as well then as the *Engliſh* ones do now. We are now ſtraitened, and ſometimes in want of Deer, and liable to many other Inconveniencies ſince the *Engliſh* came among us, and particularly from that Pen-and-Ink Work that is going on at the Table (*pointing to the Secretary*) and we will give you an Inſtance of this. Our Brother *Onas*, a great while ago, came to

Albany

Albany to buy the *Saſquahannah* Lands of us, but our Brother the Governor of *New-York*, who, as we ſuppoſe, had not a good Underſtanding with our Brother *Onas*, adviſed us not to ſell him any Land, for he would make an ill Uſe of it; and, pretending to be our good Friend, he adviſed us, in order to prevent *Onas*'s, or any other Perſon's impoſing upon us, and that we might always have our Land when we ſhould want it, to put it into his Hands; and told us, he would keep it for our Uſe, and never open his Hands, but keep them cloſe ſhut, and not part with any of it, but at our Requeſt. Accordingly we truſted him, and put our Land into his Hands, and charged him to keep it ſafe for our Uſe; but, ſome Time after, he went to *England*, and carried our Land with him, and there ſold it to our Brother *Onas* for a large Sum of Money; and when, at the Inſtance of our Brother *Onas*, we were minded to ſell him ſome Lands, he told us we had ſold the *Saſquahannah* Lands already to the Governor of *New-York*, and that he had bought them from him in *England*; tho', when he came to underſtand how the Governor of *New-York* had deceived us, he very generouſly paid us for our Lands over again.

Tho' we mention this Inſtance of an Impoſition put upon us by the Governor of *New-York*, yet we muſt do the *Engliſh* the Juſtice to ſay, we have had their hearty Aſſiſtances in our Wars with the *French*, who were no ſooner arrived amongſt us than they began to render us uneaſy, and to provoke us to War, and we had ſeveral Wars with them; during all which we conſtantly received Aſſiſtance from the *Engliſh*, and, by their Means, we have always been able to keep up our Heads againſt their Attacks.

We now come nearer home. We have had your Deeds interpreted to us, and we acknowledge them

to

to be good and valid, and that the *Coneſtogoe* or *Saſquahannah Indians* had a Right to ſell thoſe Lands to you, for they were then theirs; but ſince that Time we have conquered them, and their Country now belongs to us, and the Lands we demanded Satisfaction for are no Part of the Lands comprized in thoſe Deeds; they are the * *Cohongorontas* Lands; thoſe, we are ſure, you have not poſſeſſed One Hundred Years, no, nor above Ten Years, and we made our Demands ſo ſoon as we knew your People were ſettled in thoſe Parts. Theſe have never been ſold, but remain ſtill to be diſpoſed of; and we are well pleaſed to hear you are provided with Goods, and do aſſure you of our Willingneſs to treat with you for thoſe unpurchaſed Lands; in Confirmation whereof, we preſent you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremonies.

CANASSATEGO added, that as the three Governors of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Penſylvania*, had divided the Lands among them, they could not, for this Reaſon, tell how much each had got, nor were they concerned about it, ſo that they were paid by all the Governors for the ſeveral Parts each poſſeſſed, and this they left to their Honour and Juſtice.

* *Cohongorontas*, i. e. *Potomack.*

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *June* 27, 1744, *A. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, *&c.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

The Commiſſioners of Virginia *ordered the Interpreter to let the* Indians *know the Government of* Virginia *was going to ſpeak to them, and then they ſpoke as follows:*

Sachems and Warriors of the Six United Nations, *our Friends and Brethren,*

AT our Deſire the Governor of *Penſylvania* invited you to this Council Fire; we have waited a long Time for you, but now you are come, you are heartily welcome; we are very glad to ſee you; we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with their uſual Approbation.

Brethren,

In the Year 1736, four of your Sachems wrote a Letter to *James Logan*, Eſq; then Prdſident of *Penſylvania*, to let the Governor of *Virginia* know that you expected ſome Conſideration for Lands in the Occupation of ſome of the People of *Virginia.* Upon ſeeing a Copy of this Letter, the Governor, with the Council of *Virginia*, took ſome Time to conſider of it. They found, on looking into the old

old Treaties, that you had given up your Lands to the Great King, who has had Poſſeſſion of *Virginia* above One Hundred and Sixty Years, and under that Great King the Inhabitants of *Virginia* hold their Land, ſo they thought there might be ſome Miſtake.

Wherefore they deſired the Governor of *New-York* to enquire of you about it. He ſent his Interpreter to you in *May*, 1743, who laid this before you at a Council held at *Onandago*, to which you anſwer, "That if you had any Demand or Pre-"tenſions on the Governor of *Virginia* any way, "you would have made it known to the Governor "of *New-York*." This correſponds with what you have ſaid to Governor *Thomas*, in the Treaty made with him at *Philadelphia* in *July*, 1742; for then you only make your Claim to Lands in the Government of *Maryland*.

We are ſo well pleaſed with this good Faith of you our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, and your Regard to the Treaties made with *Virginia*, that we are ready to hear you on the Subject of your Meſſage eight years ſince.

Tell us what Nations of *Indians* you conquered any Lands from in *Virginia*, how long it is ſince, and what Poſſeſſion you have had; and if it does appear, that there is any Land on the Borders of *Virginia* that the *Six Nations* have a Right to, we are willing to make you Satisfaction.

Then laid down a String of Wampum, which was accepted with the uſual Ceremony, and then added,

We have a Cheſt of new Goods, and the Key is in our Pockets. You are our Brethren; the Great King is our common Father, and we will live with you, as Children ought to do, in Peace and Love.

We

We will brighten the Chain, and ſtrengthen the Union between us; ſo that we ſhall never be divided, but remain Friends and Brethren as long as the Sun gives Light; in Confirmation whereof, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

TACHANOONTIA replied:

Brother Aſſaragoa,

You have made a good Speech to us, which is very agreeable, and for which we return you our Thanks. We ſhall be able to give you an Anſwer to every Part of it ſome Time this Afternoon, and we will let you know when we are ready.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *June* 27, 1744, *P. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, *&c.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conred Weiſer, *Interpreter.*

TACHANOONTIA ſpoke as follows:

Brother Aſſaragoa,

SINCE you have joined with the Governor of *Maryland* and Brother *Onas* in kindling this Fire, we gladly acknowledge the Pleaſure we have in ſeeing you here, and obſerving your good Diſpoſitions

ſitions as well to confirm the Treaties of Friendſhip, as to enter into further Contracts about Land with us; and, in Token of our Satisfaction, we preſent you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremonies.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

In your Speech this Morning you were pleaſed to ſay we had wrote a Letter to *James Logan*, about ſeven Years ago, to demand a Conſideration for our Lands in the Poſſeſſion of ſome of the *Virginians*; that you held them under the Great King for upwards of One Hundred and Sixty Years, and that we had already given up our Right; and that therefore you had deſired the Governor of *New-York* to ſend his Interpreter to us laſt Year to *Onandago*, which he did; and, as you ſay, we in Council at *Onandago* did declare, that we had no Demand upon you for Lands, and that if we had any Pretenſions, we ſhould have made them known to the Governor of *New-York*; and likewiſe you deſire to know if we have any Right to the *Virginia* Lands, and that we will make ſuch Right appear, and tell you what Nations of *Indians* we conquered thoſe Lands from.

Now we anſwer, We have the Right of Conqueſt, a Right too dearly purchaſed, and which coſt us too much Blood, to give up without any Reaſon at all, as you ſay we have done at *Albany*; but we ſhould be obliged to you, if you would let us ſee the Letter, and inform us who was the Interpreter, and whoſe Names are put to that Letter; for as the whole Tranſaction cannot be above a Year's ſtanding, it muſt be freſh in every Body's Memory, and ſome of our Council would eaſily remember it; but we aſſure you, and are well able to prove, that neither we, nor any Part of us, have ever relinquiſhed our Right, or ever gave ſuch an Anſwer as you ſay is mentioned

mentioned in your Letter. Could we, ſo few Years ago, make a formal Demand, by *James Logan*, and not be ſenſible of our Right? And hath any thing happened ſince that Time to make us leſs ſenſible? No; and as this Matter can be eaſily cleared up, we are anxious it ſhould be done; for we are poſitive no ſuch thing was ever mentioned to us at *Onandago*, nor any where elſe. All the World knows we conquered the ſeveral Nations living on *Saſquahannah*, *Cohongoronta*, and on the Back of the Great Mountains in *Virginia*; the *Conoy-uch-ſuch-roona*, *Coch-now-was-roonan*, *Tohoa-irough-roonan*, and *Connutſkin-ough-roonaw*, feel the Effects of our Conqueſts, being now a Part of our Nations, and their Lands at at our Diſpoſal. We know very well, it it hath often been ſaid by the *Virginians*, that the *Great King of* ENGLAND, and the People of that Colony, conquered the *Indians* who lived there, but it is not true. We will allow they have conquered the *Sachdagughroonaw*, and drove back the *Tuſcarroraws*, and that they have, on that Account, a Right to ſome Part of *Virginia*; but as to what lies beyond the Mountains, we conquered the Nations reſiding there, and that Land, if the *Virginians* ever get a good Right to it, it muſt be by us; and in Teſtimony of the Truth of our Anſwer to this Part of your Speech, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

We have given you a full Anſwer to the firſt Part of your Speech, which we hope will be ſatisfactory. We are glad to hear you have brought with you a big Cheſt of new Goods, and that you have the Key in your Pockets. We do not doubt but we ſhall have a good Underſtanding in all Points, and come to an Agreement with you.

We

We ſhall open all our Hearts to you, that you may know every thing in them; we will hide nothing from you; and we hope, if there be any thing ſtill remaining in your Breaſt that may occaſion any Diſpute between us, you will take the Opportunity to unboſom your Hearts, and lay them open to us, that henceforth there may be no Dirt, nor any other Obſtacle in the Road between us; and in Token of our hearty Wiſhes to bring about ſo good an Harmony, we preſent you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

We muſt now tell you what Mountains we mean that we ſay are the Boundaries between you and us. You may remember, that about twenty Years ago you had a Treaty with us at *Albany*, when you took a Belt of Wampum, and made a Fence with it on the Middle of the Hill, and told us, that if any of the Warriors of the *Six Nations* came on your Side of the Middle of the Hill, you would hang them; and you gave us Liberty to do the ſame with any of your People who ſhould be found on our Side of the Middle of the Hill. This is the Hill we mean, and we deſire that Treaty may be now confirmed. After we left *Albany*, we brought our Road a great deal more to the Weſt, that we might comply with your Propoſal; but, tho' it was of your own making, your People never obſerved it, but came and lived on our Side of the Hill, which we don't blame you for, as you live at a great Diſtance, near the Seas, and cannot be thought to know what your People do in the Back-parts: And on their ſettling, contrary to your own Propoſal, on our new Road, it fell out that our Warriors did ſome Hurt to your People's Cattle, of which a Complaint was made, and tranſmitted to us by our Brother *Onas*; and we,

at his Requeſt, altered the Road again, and brought it to the the Foot of the Great Mountain, where it now is; and it is impoſſible for us to remove it any further to the Weſt, thoſe Parts of the Country being abſolutely impaſſable by either Man or Beaſt.

We had not been long in the Uſe of this new Road before your People came, like Flocks of Birds, and ſat down on both Sides of it, and yet we never made a Complaint to you, tho' you muſt be ſenſible thoſe Things muſt have been done by your People in manifeſt Breach of your own Propoſal made at *Albany*; and therefore, as we are now opening our Hearts to you, we cannot avoid complaining, and deſire all theſe Affairs may be ſettled, and that you may be ſtronger induced to do us Juſtice for what is paſt, and to come to a thorough Settlement for the future, we, in the Preſence of the Governor of *Maryland*, and Brother *Onas*, preſent you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Then Tachanoontia *added:*

That he forgot to ſay, that the Affair of the Road muſt be looked upon as a Preliminary to be ſettled before the Grant of Lands; and, ſaid he, either the *Virginia* People muſt be obliged to remove more Eaſterly, or, if they are permitted to ſtay, our Warriors, marching that Way to the Southward, ſhall go Sharers with them in what they plant.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *June* 28, 1744. *A. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

The GOVERNOR ſpoke as follows.

Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,

I Am always ſorry when any thing happens that may create the leaſt Uneaſineſs between us; but as we are mutually engaged to keep the Road between us clear and open, and to remove every Obſtruction that may lie in the Way, I muſt inform you, that three of the *Delaware Indians* lately murdered *John Armſtrong*, an *Indian* Trader, and his two Men, in a moſt barbarous Manner, as he was travelling to *Allegheny*, and ſtole his Goods of a conſiderable Value. *Shick Calamy*, and the *Indians* ſettled at *Shamokin*, did well; they ſeized two of the Murderers, and ſent them down to our Settlements; but the *Indians*, who had the Charge of them, afterwards ſuffered one of them to eſcape, on a Pretence that he was not concerned in the bloody Deed; the other is now in *Philadelphia* Goal. By our Law all the Acceſſaries to a Murder are to be tried, and put to Death, as well as the Perſon who gave the deadly Wound. If they conſented to it, encouraged it, or any ways aſſiſted in it, they are to be put to Death, and it is juſt it

ſhould be ſo. If, upon Trial, the Perſons preſent at the Murder are found not to have done any of theſe Things, they are ſet at Liberty. Two of our People were, not many Years ago, publickly put to Death for killing two *Indians*; we therefore expect you will take the moſt effectual Meaſures to ſeize and deliver up to us the other two *Indians* preſent at theſe Murders, to be tried with the Principal now in Cuſtody. If it ſhall appear, upon their Trial, that they were not adviſing, or any way aſſiſting in this horrid Fact, they will be acquitted, and ſent home to their Towns. And that you may be ſatisfied no Injuſtice will be done to them, I do now invite you to depute three or four *Indians* to be preſent at their Trials. I do likewiſe expect that you will order ſtrict Search to be made for the Remainder of the ſtolen Goods, that they may be reſtored to the Wife and Children of the Deceaſed. That what I have ſaid may have its due Weight with you, I give you this String of Wampum.

Which was accepted with the Yo-hah.

The Governor afterwards ordered the Interpreter to tell them, he expected a very full Anſwer from them, and that they might take their own Time to give it; for he did not deſire to interfere with the Buſineſs of *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

They ſaid they would take it into Conſideration, and give a full Anſwer.

Then the Commiſſioners of *Virginia* let them know, by the Interpreter, that they would ſpeak to them in the Afternoon.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaſter*, *June* 28, 1744, *P. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

The Commiſſioners deſired the Interpreter to tell the Indians *they were going to ſpeak to them. Mr.* Weiſer *acquainted them herewith. After which the ſaid Commiſſioners ſpoke as follows:*

Our good Friends and Brethren, the Six *united* Nations,

WE have conſidered what you ſaid concerning your Title to ſome Lands now in our Province, and alſo of the Place where they lie. Altho' we cannot admit your Right, yet we are ſo reſolved to live in Brotherly Love and Affection with the *Six Nations*, that upon your giving us a Releaſe in Writing of all your Claim to any Lands in *Maryland*, we ſhall make you a Compenſation to the Value of Three Hundred Pounds Currency, for the Payment of Part whereof we have brought ſome Goods, and ſhall make up the reſt in what Manner you think fit.

As we intend to ſay ſomething to you about our Chain of Friendſhip after this Affair of the Land is ſettled, we deſire you will now examine the Goods, and make an End of this Matter.

We will not omit acquainting our good Friends the *Six Nations*, that notwithſtanding we are likely to come to an Agreement about your Claim of Lands, yet your Brethren of *Maryland* look on you to be as one Soul and one Body with themſelves;

and as a broad Road will be made between us, we ſhall always be deſirous of keeping it clear, that we may, from Time to Time, take care that the Links of our Friendſhip be not ruſted. In Teſtimony that our Words and our Hearts agree, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

On preſenting of which the Indians *gave the uſual Cry of Approbation.*

Mr. *Weiſer* acquainted the *Indians*, they might now look over the ſeveral Goods placed on a Table in the Chamber for that Purpoſe; and the honourable Commiſſioners bid him tell them, if they diſliked any of the Goods, or, if they were damaged, the Commiſſioners would put a leſs Price on ſuch as were either diſliked or damnified.

The *Indians* having viewed and examined the Goods, and ſeeming diſſatisfied at the Price and Worth of them, required Time to go down into the Court-Houſe, in order for a Conſultation to be had by the Chiefs of them concerning the ſaid Goods, and likewiſe that the Interpreter might retire with them, which he did. Accordingly they went down into the Court-Houſe, and ſoon after returned again into the Chamber.

Mr. *Weiſer* ſat down among the *Indians*, and diſcourſed them about the Goods, and in ſome ſhort Time after they choſe the following from among the others, and the Price agreed to be given for them by the *Six Nations* was, *viz.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Four Pieces of Strowds, at 7 *l.*	28	00	00
Two Pieces Ditto, 5 *l.* —	10	00	00
Two Hundred Shirts, —	63	12	00
Three Pieces Half-Thicks, —	11	00	00
Three Pieces Duffle Blankets, at 7 *l.*	21	00	00
One Piece Ditto, ———	6	10	00
Forty Seven Guns, at 1 *l.* 6 *s.*	61	02	00

One

	l.	s.	d.
One Pound of Vermillion, —	00	18	00
One Thousand Flints, ——	00	18	00
Four Dozen Jews Harps, ——	00	14	00
One Dozen Boxes, —— —	00	1	00
One Hundred Two Quarters Bar-Lead,	3	00	00
Two Quarters Shot, ——	1	00	00
Two Half-Barrels of Gun-Powder,	13	00	00
	220	15	00

Pensylvannia Currency.

When the *Indians* had agreed to take these Goods at the Rates above specified, they informed the Interpreter, that they would give an Answer to the Speech made to them this Morning by the honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*, but did not express the Time when such Answer should be made. At 12 o'Clock the Commissioners departed the Chamber.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, *June* 28, 1744. *P. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq; Governor, *&c.*

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

The Commissioners of Virginia *desired the Interpreter to let the* Indians *know, that their Brother* Assaragoa *was now going to give his Reply to their Answer to his first Speech, delivered them the Day before in the Forenoon.*

Sachems and Warriors of the united Six Nations,

WE are now come to answer what you said to us Yesterday, since what we said to you

before on the Part of the Great King, our Father, has not been ſatisfactory. You have gone into old Times, and ſo muſt we. It is true that the Great King holds *Virginia* by Right of Conqueſt, and the Bounds of that Conqueſt to the Weſtward is the Great Sea.

If the *Six Nations* have made any Conqueſt over *Indians* that may at any Time have lived on the Weſt-ſide of the Great Mountains of *Virginia*, yet they never poſſeſſed any Lands there that we have ever heard of. That Part was altogether deſerted, and free for any People to enter upon, as the People of *Virginia* have done, by Order of the Great King, very juſtly, as well by ancient Right, as by its being freed from the Poſſeſſion of any other, and from any Claim even of you the *Six Nations*, our Brethren, until within theſe eight Years. The firſt Treaty between the Great King, in Behalf of his Subjects of *Virginia*, and you, that we can find, was made at *Albany*, by Colonel *Henry Courſey*, Seventy Years ſince; this was a Treaty of Friendſhip, when the firſt Covenant Chain was made, when we and you became Brethren.

The next Treaty was alſo at *Albany*, above Fifty-eight Years ago, by the Lord *Howard*, Governor of *Virginia*; then you declared yourſelves Subjects to the Great King, our Father, and gave up to him all your Lands for his Protection. This you own in a Treaty made by the Governor of *New-York* with you at the ſame Place in the Year 1687, and you expreſs yourſelf in theſe Words, "Brethren, "you tell us the King of *England* is a very great "King, and why ſhould not you join with us in a "very juſt Cauſe, when the *French* join with our "Enemies in an unjuſt Cauſe? O Brethren, we "ſee the Reaſon of this; for the *French* would "fain kill us all, and when that is done, they "would carry all the Beaver Trade to *Canada*, and

"the

" the *Great King of* ENGLAND would lose the
" Land likewise; and therefore, O Great Sachem,
" beyond the Great Lakes, awake, and suffer not
" those poor *Indians*, that have given themselves
" and their Lands under your Protection, to be de-
" stroyed by the *French* without a Cause."

The last Treaty we shall speak to you about is that made at *Albany* by Governor *Spotswood*, which you have not recited as it is: For the white People, your Brethren of *Virginia*, are, in no Article of that Treaty, prohibited to pass, and settle to the Westward of the Great Mountains. It is the *Indians*, tributary to *Virginia*, that are restrained, as you and your tributary *Indians* are from passing to the Eastward of the same Mountains, or to the Southward of *Cohongorooton*, and you agree to this Article in these Words; " That the Great River
" of *Potowmack*, and the high Ridge of Moun-
" tains, which extend all along the Frontiers of
" *Virginia* to the Westward of the present Settle-
" ments of that Colony, shall be for ever the esta-
" blished Boundaries between the *Indians* subject
" to the Dominions of *Virginia*, and the *Indians*
" belonging to and depending on the *Five Nati-*
" *ons*; so that neither our *Indians* shall on any Pre-
" tence whatsoever, pass to Northward or West-
" ward of the said Boundaries, without having to
" produce a Passport under the Hand and Seal of the
" Governor or Commander in Chief of *Virginia*;
" nor your *Indians* to pass to the Southward or East-
" ward of the said Boundaries, without a Passport
" in like Manner from the Governor or Comman-
" der in Chief of *New-York*."

And what Right can you have to Lands that you have no Right to walk upon, but upon certain Conditions? It is true, you have not observed this Part of the Treaty, and your Brethren of *Virginia* have

have not insisted upon it with a due Strictness, which has occasioned some Mischief.

This Treaty has been sent to the Governor of *Virginia* by Order of the Great King, and is what we must rely on, and, being in Writing, is more certain than your Memory. That is the Way the white People have of preserving Transactions of every Kind, and transmitting them down to their Childrens Children for ever, and all Disputes among them are settled by this faithful kind of Evidence, and must be the Rule between the Great King and you. This Treaty your Sachems and Warriors signed some Years after the same Governor *Spotswood*, in the Right of the Great King, had been, with some People of *Virginia*, in Possession of these very Lands, which you have set up your late Claim to.

The Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs at *Albany* gave the Account we mentioned to you Yesterday to the Governor of *New-York*, and he sent it to the Governor of *Virginia*; their Names will be given you by the Interpreter.

Brethren,

This Dispute is not between *Virginia* and you; it is setting up your Right against the Great King, under whose Grants the People you complain of are settled. Nothing but a Command from the Great King can remove them; they are too powerful to be removed by any Force of you, our Brethren; and the Great King, as our common Father, will do equal Justice to all his Children; wherefore we do believe they will be confirmed in their Possessions.

As to the Road you mention, we intended to prevent any Occasion for it, by making a Peace between you and the Southern *Indians*, a few Years since, at a considerable Expence to our Great King, which you confirmed at *Albany*. It seems, by your being

being at War with the *Catawbas*, that it has not been long kept between you.

However, if you desire a Road, we will agree to one on the Terms of the Treaty you made with Colonel *Spotswood*, and your People, behaving themselves orderly like Friends and Brethren, shall be used in their Passage through *Virginia* with the same Kindness as they are when they pass through the Lands of your Brother *Onas*. This we hope, will be agreed to by you our Brethren, and we will abide by the Promise made to you Yesterday.

We may proceed to settle what we are to give you for any Right you may have, or have had to all the Lands to the Southward and Westward of the Lands of your Brother the Governor of *Maryland*, and of your Brother *Onas*; tho' we are informed that the Southern *Indians* claim these very Lands that you do.

We are desirous to live with you, our Brethren, according to the old Chain of Friendship, to settle all these Matters fairly and honestly; and, as a Pledge of our Sincerity, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaſter*, *June* 29, 1744, *A. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

Mr. Weiſer *informed the honourable Commiſſioners, that the* Indians *were ready to give their Anſwer to the Speech made to them here Yeſterday Morning by the Commiſſioners; whereupon* Canaſſatego *ſpoke as follows, looking on a Deal-board, where were ſome black Lines, deſcribing the Courſes of* Potowmack *and* Saſquahanna:

Brethren,

YESTERDAY you ſpoke to us concerning the Lands on this Side *Potowmack* River, and as we have deliberately conſidered what you ſaid to us on that Matter, we are now very ready to ſettle the Bounds of ſuch Lands, and releaſe our Right and Claim thereto.

We are willing to renounce all Right to Lord *Baltimore* of all thoſe Lands lying two Miles above the uppermoſt Fork of *Potowmack* or *Cohongoruton* River, near which *Thomas Creſſap* has a hunting or trading Cabin, by a North-line, to the Bounds of *Penſylvania.* But in caſe ſuch Limits ſhall not include every Settlement or Inhabitant of *Maryland*, then ſuch other Lines and Courſes, from the ſaid two Miles above the Forks, to the outermoſt Inhabitants or Settlements, as ſhall include every Settlement and Inhabitant in *Maryland*, and from thence, by a North-line, to the Bounds of *Penſylvannia*, ſhall be the Limits. And further, If any People already have, or ſhall ſettle beyond the Lands now deſcribed and bounded, they ſhall enjoy the ſame free from any Diſturbance whatever, and we do, and

ſhall

ſhall accept theſe People for our Brethren, and as ſuch always treat them.

We earneſtly deſire to live with you as Brethren, and hope you will ſhew us all Brotherly Kindneſs; in Token whereof, we preſent you with a Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Soon after the Commiſſioners and *Indians* departed from the Court-Houſe Chamber.

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaſter*, *June* 30, 1744, *A. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

Gachradodow, *Speaker for the* Indians, *in anſwer to the Commiſſioners Speech at the laſt Meeting, with a ſtrong Voice, and proper Action, ſpoke as follows:*

Brother Aſſaragoa,

THE World at the firſt was made on the other Side of the Great Water different from what it is on this Side, as may be known from the different Colours of our Skin, and of our Fleſh, and that which you call Juſtice may not be ſo amongſt us; you have your Laws and Cuſtoms, and ſo have we. The Great King might ſend you over to conquer the *Indians*, but it looks to us that God did not approve of it; if he had, he would not have placed the Sea where it is, as the Limits between us and you.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

Tho' great Things are well remembered among us, yet we don't remember that we were ever conquered

quered by the Great King, or that we have been employed by that Great King to conquer others; if it was ſo, it is beyond our Memory. We do remember we were employed by *Maryland* to conquer the *Coneſtogoes*, and that the ſecond time we were at War with them, we carried them all off.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

You charge us with not acting agreeable to our Peace with the *Catawbas*, we will repeat to you truly what was done. The Governor of *New-York*, at *Albany*, in Behalf of *Aſſaragoa*, gave us ſeveral Belts of Wampum from the *Cherikees* and *Catawbas*, and we agreed to a Peace, if thoſe Nations would ſend ſome of their great Men to us to confirm it Face to Face, and that they would trade with us; and deſired that they would appoint a Time to meet at *Albany* for that Purpoſe, but they never came.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

We then deſired a Letter might be ſent to the *Catawbas* and *Cherikees*, to deſire them to come and confirm the Peace. It was long before an Anſwer came; but we met the *Cherikees*, and confirmed the Peace, and ſent ſome of our People to take care of them, until they returned to their own Country.

The *Catawbas* refuſed to come, and ſent us word, That we were but Women, that they were Men, and double Men, that they could make Women of us, and would be always at War with us. They are a deceitful People. Our Brother *Aſſaragoa* is deceived by them; we don't blame him for it, but are ſorry he is ſo deceived.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

We have confirmed the Peace with the *Cherikees*, but not with the *Catawbas*. They have been treacherous,

cherous, and know it; so that the War must continue till one of us is destroyed. This we think proper to tell you, that you may not be troubled at what we do to the *Catawbas*.

Brother Assaragoa,

We will now speak to the Point between us. You say you will agree with us as to the Road; we desire that may be the Road which was last made (the Waggon-Road.) It is always, a Custom among Brethren or Strangers to use each other kindly; you have some very ill-natured People living up there; so that we desire the Persons in Power may know that we are to have resonable Victuals when we are in want.

You know very well, when the white People came first here they were poor; but now they have got our Lands, and are by them become rich, and we are now poor; what little we have had for the Land goes soon away, but the Land lasts for ever. You told us you had brought with you a Chest of Goods, and that you have the Key in your Pockets; but we have never seen the Chest, nor the Goods that are said to be in it; it may be small, and the Goods few; we want to see them, and are desirous to come to some Conclusion. We have been sleeping here these ten Days past, and have not done any thing to the Purpose.

The Commissioners told them they should see the Goods on *Monday*.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *June* 30, 1744, *P. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, *&c.*

The Honourable Commiſſioner of *Virginia.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

THE three Governments entertained the *Indians*, and all the Gentlemen in Town, with a handſome Dinner. The *Six Nations*, in their Order, having returned Thanks with the uſual Solemnity of *Yo-ha-han*, the Interpreter informed the Governor and the Commiſſioners, that as the Lord Proprietor and Governor of *Maryland* was not known to the *Indians* by any particular Name, they had agreed, in Council, to take the firſt Opportunity of a large Company to preſent him with one; and as this with them is deemed a Matter of great Conſequence, and attended with Abundance of Form, the ſeveral Nations had drawn Lots for the Performance of the Ceremony, and the Lot falling on the *Cayogo* Nation, they had choſen *Gachradodow*, one of their Chiefs, to be their Speaker, and he deſired Leave to begin; which being given, he, on an elevated Part of the Court-Houſe, with all the Dignity of a Warrior, the Geſture of an Orator, and in a very graceful Poſture, ſaid that:

" As the Governor of *Maryland* had invited them " here to treat about their Lands, and brighten the " Chain

" Chain of Friendſhip, the united Nations thought " themſelves ſo much obliged to them, that they " had come to a Reſolution in Council to give to " the great Man, who is Proprietor of *Mary-* " *land*, a particular Name, by which they might " hereafter correſpond with him; and as it had " fallen to the *Cayogoes* Lot in Council to con- " ſider of a proper Name for that chief Man, they " had agreed to give him the Name of *Tocarry-* " *hogan*, denoting Precedency, Excellency, or " living in the middle or honourable Place betwixt " *Aſſaragoa* and their Brother *Onas*, by whom their " Treaties might be better carried on." And then, addreſſing himſelf to his Honour the Governor of *Penſylvania*, the honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and to the Gentlemen then preſent, he proceeded:

" As there is a Company of great Men now " aſſembled, we take this Time and Opportunity " to publiſh this Matter, that it may be known " *Tocarry-hogan* is our Friend, and that we are " ready to honour him, and that by ſuch Name he " may be always called and known among us. " And we hope he will ever act towards us accord- " ing to the Excellency of the Name we have now " given him, and enjoy a long and happy Life."

The honourable the Governor and Commiſſioners, and all the Company preſent, returned the Compliment with three Huzza's, and, after drinking Healths to our gracious King and the *Six Nations*, the Commiſſioners of *Maryland* proceeded to Buſineſs in the Court-Houſe Chamber with the *Indians*, where *Conrad Weiſer*, the Interpreter, was preſent.

The honourable the Commiſſioners ordered Mr. *Weiſer* to tell the *Indians*, that a Deed, releaſing all their Claim and Title to certain Lands lying in the Province of *Maryland*, which by them was agreed to be given and executed for the Uſe of the

Lord Baron of *Baltimore*, Lord Proprietary of that Province, was now on the Table, and Seals ready fixed thereto. The Interpreter acquainted them therewith as desired, and then gave the Deed to *Canassatego*, the Speaker, who made his Mark, and put his Seal, and delivered it; after which, thirteen other Chiefs or Sachems of the *Six Nations* executed it in the same Manner, in the Presence of the honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*, and divers other Gentlemen of that Colony, and of the Provinces of *Pensylvania* and *Maryland*.

At the House of Mr. *George Sanderson* in *Lancaster*, *July* 2, 1744, *A. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

THE several Chiefs of the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, who had not signed the Deed of Release of their Claim to some Lands in *Maryland*, tendered to them on *Saturday* last, in the Chamber of the Court-House in this Town, did now readily execute the same, and caused Mr. *Weiser* likewise to sign it, as well with his *Indian*, as with his own proper Name of *Weiser*, as a Witness and Interpreter.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *July* 2, 1744, *A. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, *&c.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

CANASSATEGO ſpoke as follows:

Brother Onas,

THE other Day you was pleaſed to tell us, you were always concerned whenever any thing happened that might give you or us Uneaſineſs, and that we were mutually engaged to preſerve the Road open and clear between us; and you informed us of the Murder of *John Armſtrong*, and his two Men, by ſome of the *Delaware Indians*, and of their ſtealing his Goods to a conſiderable Value. The *Delaware Indians*, as you ſuppoſe, are under our Power. We join with you in your Concern for ſuch a vile Proceeding; and, to teſtify that we have the ſame Inclinations with you to keep the Road clear, free and open, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Brother Onas,

Theſe Things happen frequently, and we deſire you will conſider them well, and not be too much

concerned. Three *Indians* have been killed at different Times at *Ohio*, and we never mentioned any of them to you, imagining it might have been occaſioned by ſome unfortunate Quarrels, and being unwilling to create a Diſturbance. We therefore deſire you will conſider theſe Things well, and, to take the Grief from your Heart, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremonies.

Brother Onas,

We have heard of the Murder of *John Armſtrong*, and, in our Journey here, we had Conference with our Couſins the *Delawares* about it, and reproved them ſeverely for it, and charged them to go down to our Brother *Onas*, and make him Satisfaction, both for the Men that were killed, and for the Goods. We underſtood, by them, that the principal Actor in theſe Murders is in your Priſon, and that he had done all the Miſchief himſelf; but that beſides him, you had required and demanded two others who were in his Company when the Murders were committed. We promiſe faithfully, in our Return, to renew our Reproofs, and to charge the *Delawares* to ſend down ſome of their Chiefs with theſe two young Men (but not as Priſoners) to be examined by you; and as we think, upon Examination, you will not find them guilty, we rely on your Juſtice not to do them any Harm, but to permit them to return home in Safety.

We likewiſe underſtand, that Search has been made for the Goods belonging to the Deceaſed, and that ſome have been already returned to your People, but that ſome are ſtill miſſing. You may depend upon our giving the ſtricteſt Charge to the *Delawares* to ſearch again with more Diligence for the Goods, and to return them, or the Value of them, in Skins.

And,

And, to confirm what we have ſaid, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremonies.

Brother Onas,

The *Conoy Indians* have informed us, that they ſent you a Meſſage, ſome Time ago, to adviſe you, that they were ill uſed by the white People in the Place where they had lived, and that they had come to a Reſolution of removing to *Shamokin*, and requeſted ſome ſmall Satisfaction for their Land; and as they never have received any Anſwer from you, they have deſired us to ſpeak for them; we heartily recommend their Caſe to your Generoſity. And, to give Weight to our Recommendation, we preſent you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

The Governor having conferred a little Time with the honourable Commiſſioners of Virginia *and* Maryland, *made the following Reply:*

Brethren,

I am glad to find that you agree with me in the Neceſſity of keeping the Road between us clear and open, and the Concern you have expreſſed on account of the barbarous Murders mentioned to you, is a Proof of your Brotherly Affection for us. If Crimes of this Nature be not ſtrictly enquired into, and the Criminals ſeverely puniſhed, there will be an End of all Commerce between us and the *Indians*, and then you will be altogether in the Power of the *French*. They will ſet what Price they pleaſe on their own Goods, and give you what they think fit for your Skins; ſo it is for your own Intereſt that our Traders ſhould be ſafe in their Perſons and Goods when they travel to your Towns.

Brethren,

I considered this Matter well before I came from *Philadelphia*, and I advised with the Council there upon it, as I have done here with the honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland*. I never heard before of the Murder of the three *Indians* at *Ohio*; had Complaint been made to me of it, and it had appeared to have been committed by any of the People under my Government, they should have been put to Death, as two of them were, some Years ago, for killing two *Indians*. You are not to take your own Satisfaction, but to apply to me, and I will see that Justice be done you; and should any of the *Indians* rob or murder any of our People, I do expect that you will deliver them up to be tried and punished in the same Manner as white People are. This is the Way to preserve Friendship between us, and will be for your Benefit as well as ours. I am well pleased with the Steps you have already taken, and the Reproofs you have given to your Cousins the *Delawares*, and do expect you will lay your Commands upon some of their Chiefs to bring down the two young Men that were present at the Murders; if they are not brought down, I shall look upon it as a Proof of their Guilt.

If, upon Examination, they shall be found not to have been concerned in the bloody Action, they shall be well used, and sent home in Safety: I will take it upon myself to see that they have no Injustice done them. An Inventory is taken of the Goods already restored, and I expect Satisfaction will be made for such as cannot be found, in Skins, according to Promise.

I well remember the coming down of one of the *Conoy Indians* with a Paper, setting forth, That the *Conoys* had come to a Resolution to leave the Land reserved for them by the Proprietors, but he made no Complaint to me of ill Usage from the white People.

People. The Reaſon he gave for their Removal was, That the ſettling of the white People all round them had made Deer ſcarce, and that therefore they choſe to remove to *Juniata* for the Benefit of Hunting. I ordered what they ſaid to be entered in the Council-Book. The old Man's Expences were born, and a Blanket given him at his Return home. I have not yet heard from the Proprietors on this Head; but you may be aſſured, from the Favour and Juſtice they have always ſhewn to the *Indians*, that they will do every thing that may be reaſonably expected of them in this Caſe.

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaſter*, *July* 2, 1744, *P. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

The Indians *being told, by the Interpreter, that their Brother* Aſſaragoa *was going to ſpeak to them, the Commiſſioners ſpoke as follows:*

Sachems and Warriors, our Friends and Brethren,

"AS we have already ſaid enough to you on the Subject of the Title to the Lands you claim from *Virginia*, we have no Occaſion to ſay any thing more to you on that head, but come directly to the Point.

We have opened the Cheſt, and the Goods are now here before you; they coſt Two Hundred Pounds *Penſylvania* Money, and were bought by a Perſon recommended to us by the Governor of *Penſylvania* with ready Caſh. We ordered them to

be good in their Kinds, and we believe they are ſo. Theſe Goods, and Two Hundred Pounds in Gold, which lie on the Table, we will give you, our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, upon Condition that you immediately make a Deed recognizing the King's Right to all the Lands that are, or ſhall be, by his Majeſty's Appointment in the Colony of *Virginia*.

As to the Road, we agree you ſhall have one, and the Regulation is in Paper, which the Interpreter now has in his Cuſtody to ſhew you. The People of *Virginia* ſhall perform their Part, if you and your *Indians* perform theirs; we are your Brethren, and will do no Hardſhips to you, but, on the contrary, all the Kindneſs we can."

The *Indians* agreed to what was ſaid, and *Canaſſatego* deſired they would repreſent their Caſe to the King, in order to have a further Conſideration when the Settlement increaſed much further back. To which the Commiſſioners agreed, and promiſed they would make ſuch a Repreſentation faithfully and honeſtly; and, for their further Security that they would do ſo, they would give them a Writing, under their Hands and Seals, to that Purpoſe.

They deſired that ſome Rum might be given them to drink on their Way home, which the Commiſſioners agreed to, and paid them in Gold for that Purpoſe, and the Carriage of their Goods from *Philadelphia*, Nine Pounds Thirteen Shillings, and Three-pence, *Penſylvania* Money.

Canaſſatego further ſaid, That as their Brother *Tocarry-hogan* ſent them proviſion on the Road here, which kept them from ſtarving, he hoped their Brother *Aſſaragoa* would do the ſame for them back, and have the Goods he gave them carried to the uſual Place; which the Commiſſioners agreed to, and ordered Proviſions and Carriages to be provided accordingly.

After this Conference the Deed was produced, and the Interpreter explained it to them; and they,

according

according to their Rank and Quality, put their Marks and Seals to it in the Preſence of ſeveral Gentlemen of *Maryland*, *Penſylvania* and *Virginia*; and when they delivered the Deed, *Canaſſatego* delivered it for the Uſe of their Father, the Great King, and hoped he would conſider them; on which the Gentlemen and *Indians* then preſent gave three Shouts.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *Tueſday*, *July* 3, 1744, *A. M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, *&c.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia.*

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland.*

The Deputies of the *Six Nations.*

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

The GOVERNOR *ſpoke as follows:*

Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,

AT a Treaty held with many of the Chiefs of your Nations Two Years ago, the Road between us was made clearer and wider; our Fire was enlarged, and our Friendſhip confirmed by an Exchange of Preſents, and many other mutual good Offices.

We think ourſelves happy in having been inſtrumental to your meeting with our Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland*; and we perſuade ourſelves, that you, on your Parts, will always remember it as an inſtance of our Good-will and Affection for you. This has given us an Opportunity of ſeeing you

you ſooner than perhaps we ſhould otherwiſe have done; and, as we are under mutual Obligations by Treaties, we to hear with our Ears for you, and you to hear with your Ears for us, we take this Opportunity to inform you of what very nearly concerns us both.

THE *great King of* ENGLAND and the *French* King have declared War againſt each other. Two Battles have been fought, one by Land, and the other by Sea. The *great King of* ENGLAND commanded the Land-Army in Perſon, and gained a compleat Victory. Numbers of the *French* were killed and taken Priſoners, and the reſt were forced to paſs a River with Precipitation to ſave their Lives. The Great God covered the King's Head in that Battle, ſo that he did not receive the leaſt Hurt; for which you, as well as we, have Reaſon to be very thankful.

THE Engagement at Sea was likewiſe to the Advantage of the *Engliſh*. The *French* and *Spaniards* joined their Ships together, and came out to fight us. The brave *Engliſh* Admiral burnt one of their largeſt Ships, and many others were ſo ſhattered, that they were glad to take the Opportunity of a very high Wind, and a dark Night, to run away, and to hide themſelves again in their own Harbours. Had the Weather proved fair, he would, in all Probability, have taken or deſtroyed them all.

I need not put you in mind how much *William Penn* and his Sons have been your Friends, and the Friends of all the *Indians*. You have long and often experienced their Friendſhip for you; nor need I repeat to you how kindly you were treated, and what valuable Preſents were made to you two Years ago by the Governor, the Council, and the Aſſembly of *Penſylvania*. The Sons of *William Penn* are all now in *England*, and have left me in their Place, well knowing how much I regard you and all the *Indians*. As a freſh Proof of this, I

have left my Houſe, and am come thus far to ſee you, to renew our Treaties, to brighten the Covenant-Chain, and to confirm our Friendſhip with you. In Teſtimony whereof, I preſent you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

As your Nations have engaged themſelves by Treaty to aſſiſt us, your Brethren of *Penſylvania*, in caſe of a War with the *French*, we do not doubt but you will punctually perform an Engagement ſo ſolemnly entered into. A War is now declared, and we expect that you will not ſuffer the *French*, or any of the *Indians* in Alliance with them, to march through your Country to diſturb any of our Settlements; and that you will give us the earlieſt and beſt Intelligence of any Deſigns that may be formed by them to our Diſadvantage, as we promiſe to do of any that may be to yours. To enforce what I have now ſaid to you in the ſtrongeſt Manner, I preſent you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

After a little Pauſe his Honour, the GOVERNOR, *ſpoke again:*

Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,

WHAT I have now ſaid to you is in Conformity to Treaties ſubſiſting between the Province of which I am Governor and your Nations. I now proceed, with the Conſent of the honourable Commiſſioners for *Virginia* and *Maryland*, to tell you, that all Differences having been adjuſted, and the Roads between us and you made quite clear and open, we are ready to confirm our Treaties with your Nations, and eſtabliſh a Friendſhip that is not to end, but with the World itſelf. And, in Behalf of the Province of *Penſylvania*, I do, by this fine Belt of Wampum,

Wampum, and a Preſent of Goods, to the Value of three hundred Pounds, confirm and eſtabliſh the ſaid Treaties of Peace, Union and Friendſhip, you on your Parts doing the ſame.

Which was received with a loud Yo-hah.

THE Governor further added, The Goods bought with the one hundred Pounds Sterling, put into my Hands by the Governor of *Virginia*, are ready to be delivered when you pleaſe. The Goods bought and ſent up by the People of the Province of *Penſylvania*, according to the Liſt which the Interpreter will explain, are laid by themſelves, and are likewiſe ready to be delivered to you at your own time.

After a little Pauſe the Commiſſioners of Virginia *ſpoke as follows:*

Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations,

THE Way between us being made ſmooth by what paſſed Yeſterday, we deſire now to confirm all former Treaties made between *Virginia* and you, our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, and to make our Chain of Union and Friendſhip as bright as the Sun, that it may not contract any more Ruſt for ever; that our Childrens Children may rejoice at, and confirm what we have done; and that you and your Children may not forget it, we give you one hundred Pounds in Gold, and this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Friends and Brethren,

ALTHO' we have been diſappointed in our Endeavours to bring about a Peace between you and the *Catawbas*, yet we deſire to ſpeak to you ſomething more about them. We believe they have been unfaithful to you, and ſpoke of you with a fooliſh Contempt; but this may be only the Raſhneſs of ſome of their young Men. In this Time

of War with our common Enemies the *French* and *Spaniards*, it will be the wiſeſt way to be at Peace among ourſelves. They, the *Catawbas*, are alſo Children of the great King, and therefore we deſire you will agree, that we may endeavour to make a Peace between you and them, that we may be all united by one common Chain of Friendſhip. We give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Brethren,

OUR Friend, *Conrad Weiſer*, when he is old, will go into the other World, as our Fathers have done, our Children will then want ſuch a Friend to go between them and your Children, to reconcile any Differences that may happen to ariſe between them, that, like him, may have the Ears and Tongues of our Children and yours.

THE Way to have ſuch a Friend, is for you to ſend three or four of your Boys to *Virginia*, where we have a fine Houſe for them to live in, and a Man on purpoſe to teach the Children of you, our Friends, the Religion, Language and Cuſtoms of the white People. To this Place we kindly invite you to ſend ſome of your Children; and we promiſe you they ſhall have the ſame Care taken of them, and be inſtructed in the ſame Manner as our own Children, and be returned to you again when you pleaſe; and, to confirm this, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Then the Commiſſioners of Maryland *ſpoke as follows:*

Friends and Brethren, the Chiefs or Sachems of the Six *united* Nations,

THE Governor of *Maryland* invited you hither, we have treated you as Friends, and agreed with you as Brethren.

As

As the Treaty now made concerning the Lands in *Maryland* will, we hope, prevent effectually every future Misunderstanding between us on that Account, we will now bind faster the Links of our Chain of Friendship, by a Renewal of all our former Treaties; and that they may still be the better secured, we shall present you with one hundred Pounds in Gold.

What we have further to say to you is, Let not our Chain contract any Rust; whenever you perceive the least Speck, tell us of it, and we will make it clean. This we also expect of you, that it may always continue so bright as our Generations may see their Faces in it; and, in Pledge of the Truth of what we have now spoken, and our Affection to you, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

CANASSATEGO, in return, spoke as follows:

Brother Onas, Assaragoa, *and* Tocarry-hogan,

We return you Thanks for your several Speeches, which are very agreeable to us. They contain Matters of such great Moment, that we propose to give them a very serious Consideration, and to answer them suitably to their Worth and Excellence; and this will take till to-morrow Morning, and when we are ready we will give you due Notice.

You tell us you beat the *French*; if so, you must have taken a great deal of Rum from them, and can the better spare us some of that Liquor to make us rejoice with you in the Victory.

The Governor and Commissioners ordered a Dram of Rum to be given to each in a small Glass, calling it, *A French Glass.*

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaſter*, *July* 4, 1744, *A.M.*

PRESENT,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Eſq; Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commiſſioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiſer, Interpreter.

CANASSATEGO Speaker.

Brother Onas,

YESTERDAY you expreſſed your Satisfaction in having been inſtrumental to our meeting with our Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, we, in return, aſſure you, that we have great Pleaſure in this Meeting, and thank you for the Part you have had in bringing us together, in order to create a good Underſtanding, and to clear the Road; and, in Token of our Gratitude, we preſent you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Brother Onas,

You was pleaſed Yeſterday to inform us, "That "War had been declared between *the great King of* "ENGLAND and the *French* King; that two great "Battles had been fought, one by Land, and the "other at Sea; with many other Particulars." We are glad to hear the Arms of the King of *England* were ſucceſsful, and take part with you in your Joy on this Occaſion. You then came nearer Home, and told us, "You had left your Houſe, "and were come thus far on Behalf of the whole "People of *Penſylvania* to ſee us; to renew your "Treaties, to brighten the Covenant-Chain, and

"to

" to confirm your Friendſhip with us." We approve this Propoſition, we thank you for it. We own, with Pleaſure, that the Covenant-Chain between us and *Penſylvania* is of old Standing, and has never contracted any Ruſt; we wiſh it may always continue as bright as it has done hitherto; and, in Token of the Sincerity of our Wiſhes, we preſent you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

Brother Onas,

You was pleaſed Yeſterday to remind us of our mutual Obligation to aſſiſt each other in caſe of a War with the *French*, and to repeat the Subſtance of what we ought to do by our Treaties with you; and that as a War had been already entered into with the *French*, you called upon us to aſſiſt you, and not to ſuffer the *French* to march through our Country to diſturb any of your Settlements.

In anſwer, we aſſure you we have all theſe Particulars in our Hearts, they are freſh in our Memory. We ſhall never forget that you and we have but one Heart, one Head, one Eye, one Ear, and one Hand. We ſhall have all your Country under our Eye, and take all the Care we can to prevent any Enemy from coming into it; and, in proof of our Care, we muſt inform you, that before we came here, we told [a] *Onandio*, our Father, as he is called, that neither he, nor any of his People, ſhould come through our Country, to hurt our Brethren the *Engliſh*, or any of the Settlements belonging to them; there was Room enough at Sea to fight, there he might do what he pleaſed, but he ſhould not come upon our Land to do any Damage to our Brethren. And you may depend upon our uſing our utmoſt Care to ſee this effectually done; and, in Token of our Sincerity, we preſent you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

After

[a] *Onandio*, the Governor of *Canada*.

After some little Time the Interpreter said, Canassatego *had forgot something material, and desired to mend his Speech, and to do so as often as he should omit any thing of Moment, and thereupon he added:*

THE *Six Nations* have a great Authority and Influence over sundry Tribes of *Indians* in Alliance with the *French*, and particularly over the *Praying Indians*, formerly a Part with ourselves, who stand in the very Gates of the *French*; and, to shew our further Care, we have engaged these very *Indians*, and other *Indian* Allies of the *French* for you. They will not join the *French* against you. They have have agreed with us before we set out. We have put the Spirit of Antipathy against the *French* in those People. Our Interest is very considerable with them, and many other Nations, and as far as ever it extends, we shall use it for your Service.

THE Governor said, *Canassatego* did well to mend his Speech; he might always do it whenever his Memory should fail him in any Point of Consequence, and he thanked him for the very agreeable Addition.

Brother Assaragoa,

YOU told us Yesterday, that all Disputes with you being now at an end, you desired to confirm all former Treaties between *Virginia* and us, and to make our Chain of Union as bright as the Sun.

WE agree very heartily with you in these Propositions; we thank you for your good Inclinations; we desire you will pay no Regard to any idle Stories that may be told to our Prejudice. And, as the Dispute about the Land is now intirely over, and we perfectly reconciled, we hope, for the future, we shall not act towards each other but as becomes Brethren and hearty Friends.

WE are very willing to renew the Friendſhip with you, and to make it as firm as poſſible, for us and our Children with you and your Children to the lateſt Generation, and we deſire you will imprint theſe Engagements on your Hearts in the ſtrongeſt Manner; and, in Confirmation that we ſhall do the ſame, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with Yo-hah *from the Interpreter, and all the Nations.*

Brother Aſſaragoa,

YOU did let us know Yeſterday, that tho' you had been diſappointed in your Endeavours to bring about a Peace between us and the *Catawbas*, yet you would ſtill do the beſt to bring ſuch a Thing about. We are well pleaſed with your Deſign, and and the more ſo, as we hear you know what ſort of People the *Catawbas* are, that they are ſpiteful and offenſive, and have treated us contemptuouſly. We are glad you know theſe Things of the *Catawbas*; we believe what you ſay to be true, that there are, notwithſtanding, ſome amongſt them who are wiſer and better; and, as you ſay, they are your Brethren, and belong to the great King over the Water, we ſhall not be againſt a Peace on reaſonable Terms, provided they will come to the Northward to treat about it. In Confirmation of what we ſay, and to encourage you in your Undertaking, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremonies.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

YOU told us likewiſe, you had a great Houſe provided for the Education of Youth, and that there were ſeveral white People and *Indians* Children there to learn Languages, and to write and read, and invited us to ſend ſome of our Children amongſt you, *&c.*

WE

WE muſt let you know we love our Children too well to ſend them ſo great a Way, and the *Indians* are not inclined to give their Children Learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your Invitation; but our Cuſtoms differing from yours, you will be ſo good as to excuſe us.

WE hope [a] *Tarachawagon* will be preſerved by the good Spirit to a good old Age; when he is gone under Ground, it will be then time enough to look out for another; and no doubt but amongſt ſo many Thouſands as there are in the World, one ſuch Man may be found, who will ſerve both Parties with the ſame Fidelity as *Tarachawagon* does; while he lives there is no Room to complain. In Token of our Thankfulneſs for your Invitation, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Ceremony.

Brother Tocarry-hogan,

YOU told us Yeſterday, that ſince there was now nothing in Controverſy between us, and the Affair of the Land was ſettled to your Satisfaction, you would now brighten the Chain of Friendſhip which hath ſubſiſted between you and us ever ſince we became Brethren; we are well pleaſed with the Propoſition, and we thank you for it; we alſo are inclined to renew all Treaties, and keep a good Correſpondence with you. You told us further, if ever we ſhould perceive the Chain had contracted any Ruſt, to let you know, and you would take care to take the Ruſt out, and preſerve it bright. We agree with you in this, and ſhall, on our Parts, do every thing to preſerve a good Underſtanding, and to live in the ſame Friendſhip with you as with our Brother *Onas* and *Aſſaragoa*; in Confirmation whereof we give you this Belt of Wampum.

On which the uſual Cry of Yo-hah *was given.*

[a] *Tarachawagon, Conrad Weiſer.*

Brethren,

WE have now finiſhed our Anſwer to what you ſaid to us Yeſterday, and ſhall now proceed to *Indian* Affairs, that are not of ſo general a Concern.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

THERE lives a Nation of *Indians* on the other Side of your Country, the *Tuſcaroraes*, who are our Friends, and with whom we hold Correſpondence; but the Road between us and them has been ſtopped for ſome Time, on account of the Miſbehaviour of ſome of our Warriors. We have opened a new Road for our Warriors, and they ſhall keep to that; but as that would be inconvenient for Meſſengers going to the *Tuſcaroraes*, we deſire they may go the old Road. We frequently ſend Meſſengers to one another, and ſhall have more Occaſion to do ſo now that we have concluded a Peace with the *Cherikees*. To enforce our Requeſt, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the uſual Cry of Approbation.

Brother Aſſaragoa,

AMONG theſe *Tuſcaroraes* there live a few Families of the *Conoy Indians*, who are deſirous to leave them, and to remove to the reſt of their Nation among us, and the ſtrait Road from them to us lies through the Middle of your Country. We deſire you will give them free Paſſage through *Virginia*, and furniſh them with Paſſes; and, to enforce our Requeſt, we give you this String of Wampum. *Which was received with the uſual Cry of Approbation.*

Brother Onas, Aſſaragoa, *and* Tocarry-hogan,

AT the Cloſe of your reſpective Speeches Yeſterday, you made us very handſome Preſents, and

we

we ſhould return you ſomething ſuitable to your Generoſity; but, alas! we are poor, and ſhall ever remain ſo, as long as there are ſo many *Indian* Traders among us. Theirs and the white Peoples Cattle have eat up all the Graſs, and make Deer ſcarce. However, we have provided a ſmall Preſent for you, and though ſome of you gave us more than others, yet, as you are all equally our Brethren, we ſhall leave it to you to divide it as you pleaſe.—And then preſented three Bundles of Skins, which were received with the uſual Ceremony from the three Governments.

WE have one Thing further to ſay, and that is, We heartily recommend Union and a good Agreement between you our Brethren. Never diſagree, but preſerve a ſtrict Friendſhip for one another, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the ſtronger.

OUR wiſe Forefathers eſtabliſhed Union and Amity between the *Five Nations*; this has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighbouring Nations.

WE are a powerful Confederacy; and, by your obſerving the ſame Methods our wiſe Forefathers have taken, you will acquire freſh Strength and Power; therefore whatever befals you, never fall out one with another.

The Governor replied:

THE honourable Commiſſioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland* have deſired me to ſpeak for them; therefore I, in Behalf of thoſe Governments, as well as of the Province of *Penſylvania*, return you Thanks for the many Proofs you have given in your Speeches of your Zeal for the Service of your Brethren the *Engliſh*, and in particular for your having ſo early engaged in a Neutrality the ſeveral Tribes of *Indians* in the *French* Alliance. We do not doubt but you will faithfully diſcharge your Promiſes. As to

your Preſents, we never eſtimate theſe Things by their real Worth, but by the Diſpoſition of the Giver. In this Light we accept them with great Pleaſure, and put a high Value upon them. We are obliged to you for recommending Peace and good Agreement amongſt ourſelves. We are all Subjects, as well as you, of the great King beyond the Water; and, in Duty to his Majeſty, and from the good Affection we bear to each other, as well as from a Regard to our own Intereſt, we ſhall always be inclined to live in Friendſhip.

THEN the Commiſſioners of *Virginia* preſented the hundred Pounds in Gold, together with a Paper, containing a Promiſe to recommend the *Six Nations* for further Favour to the King; which they received with *Yo-hah*, and the Paper was given by them to *Conrad Weiſer* to keep for them. The Commiſſioners likewiſe promiſed that their publick Meſſengers ſhould not be moleſted in their Paſſage through *Virginia*, and that they would prepare Paſſes for ſuch of the *Conoy Indians* as were willing to remove to the Northward.

THEN the Commiſſioners of *Maryland* preſented their hundred Pounds in Gold, which was likewiſe received with the *Yo-hah*.

Canaſſatego ſaid, We mentioned to you Yeſterday the Booty you had taken from the *French*, and aſked you for ſome of the Rum which we ſuppoſed to be Part of it, and you gave us ſome; but it turned out unfortunately that you gave it in *French* Glaſſes, we now deſire you will give us ſome in *Engliſh* Glaſſes.

THE Governor made anſwer, We are glad to hear you have ſuch a Diſlike for what is *French*. They cheat you in your Glaſſes, as well as in every thing elſe. You muſt conſider we are at a Diſtance from *Williamſburg*, *Annapolis*, and *Philadelphia*, where our Rum Stores are, and that although we brought

brought up a good Quantity with us, you have almoſt drunk it out; but, notwithſtanding this, we have enough left to fill our *Engliſh* Glaſſes, and will ſhew the Difference between the Narrowneſs of the *French*, and the Generoſity of your Brethren the *Engliſh* towards you.

THE *Indians* gave, in their Order, five *Yo-hahs*; and the honourable Governor and Commiſſioners calling for ſome Rum, and ſome middle-ſized Wine-Glaſſes, drank Health to the *great King of* ENGLAND, and the *Six Nations*, and put an end to the Treaty by three loud Huzza's, in which all the Company joined.

IN the Evening the Governor went to take his Leave of the *Indians*, and, preſenting them with a String of Wampum, he told them, that was in return for one he had received of them, with a Meſſage to deſire the Governor of *Virginia* to ſuffer their Warriors to go through *Virginia* unmoleſted, which was rendered unneceſſary by the preſent Treaty.

THEN, preſenting them with another String of Wampum, he told them, that was in return for theirs, praying him, that as they had taken away one Part of *Conrad Weiſer*'s Beard, which frightened their Children, he would pleaſe to take away the other, which he had ordered to be done.

The Indians *received theſe two Strings of Wampum with the uſual* Yo-hah.

THE Governor then aſked them, what was the Reaſon that more of the *Shawanaes*, from their Town on *Hohio*, were not at the Treaty? But ſeeing that it would require a Council in Form, and perhaps another Day to give an Anſwer, he deſired they would give an Anſwer to *Conrad Weiſer* upon the Road on their Return home, for he was to ſet out for *Philadelphia* the next Morning.

CANASSATEGO in Concluſion ſpoke as follows:

WE have been hindered, by a great deal of Buſineſs, from waiting on you, to have ſome private Converſation with you, chiefly to enquire after the Healths of *Onas* beyond the Water; we deſire you will tell them, we have a grateful Senſe of all their Kindneſſes for the *Indians*. Brother *Onas* told us, when he went away, he would not ſtay long from us; we think it is a great while, and want to know when we may expect him, and deſire, when you write, you will recommend us heartily to him; which the Governor promiſed to do, and then took his Leave of them.

THE Commiſſioners of *Virginia* gave *Canaſſatego* a Scarlet Camblet Coat, and took their Leave of them in Form, and at the ſame time delivered the Paſſes to them, according to their Requeſt.

THE Commiſſioners of *Maryland* preſented *Gachradodow* with a broad Gold-laced Hat, and took their Leave of them in the ſame Manner.

A true Copy, compared by

RICHARD PETERS, Secr.

A

TREATY

BETWEEN

HIS EXCELLENCY

The Honourable GEORGE CLINTON,

Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Province of *New-York*, and the Territories thereon depending in AMERICA, Vice-Admiral of the ſame, and Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of His Majeſty's Fleet.

AND

The Six United *Indian* Nations, and other *Indian* Nations, depending on the PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK*.

Held at *ALBANY* in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, 1746.

A TREATY *between his Excellency the Governor of the Province of* New-York, *and the* Six Nations, *and other* Indian *Nations, depending on ſaid Province.*

IT is well known in the Province of *New-York*, that the *Six Nations* of *Indians* depending on this Province, (called *Iroquois* by the *French*) had lately on ſeveral Occaſions, appear'd diſſatisfied and wavering in their Fidelity to the *Britiſh* Crown. No doubt, this was principally occaſion'd by the Artifices of the *French* of *Canada*, who had conſtantly Emiſſaries among them: But at the ſame Time there is Reaſon to think, the ſuſpicious Behaviour of theſe Nations, in Favour of their once inveterate Enemy the *French*, could not have arriv'd to the Pitch it did, otherwiſe than by ſome Neglects or Miſconduct of thoſe who were entruſted by the Government of *New-York* with the Management of the *Indian* Affairs.

His Excellency the Governor of *New-York*, having received his Majeſty's Commands, to engage the *Indian* Nations depending on his Government, to join in the Expedition then intended againſt *Canada*, and to make them the uſual Preſents on that Occaſion; and being ſenſible of the great Uſe theſe *Nations* might be to the Succeſs of this Enterprize, and likewiſe of the Difficulties that probably might attend his Endeavours at this Time, was deſirous to have had the Aſſiſtance of as many of the Members of his Majeſty's Council as the Circumſtances

of

of Affairs would permit; but they all declined to give their Attendance, except Mr. *Colden* and Mr. *Livingſton*. His Excellency was therefore obliged to act with the ſmalleſt Number of Members, which by his Majeſty's Commiſſion can form a Council, *viz.* Three; the above two Gentlemen and Capt. *Rutherford*, who was then at his Poſt in *Albany*.

As ſoon as his Excellency received his Majeſty's Commands, he diſpatched from *Albany* ſuch Perſons as, by the beſt Information he could receive, had Influence among the *Six Nations*, to invite them ſeverally to meet him at *Albany*, on the 20th of *July*. His Excellency arriv'd at *Albany* the 21ſt of *July*, where having heard, that, beſides the Small-Pox, (which his Excellency never had) many were ſick of a contagious malignant Fever, he continued on board the Sloop which carried him up, to conſider where to lodge with the leaſt Danger to his Perſon from the Infection of theſe Diſtempers; and the next Morning reſolved to go into the Fort. He was received at his Landing with the uſual Marks of Reſpect from the Corporation, the independent Companies of regular Troops then in the Place, and the Militia, under a Diſcharge of the Cannon of the Fort and Town.

In the Afternoon of the ſame Day on which his Excellency came on ſhore, three *Indians*, *viz.* two *Onandagos* and an *Oneydo*, brought two *French* Scalps and preſented to his Excellency: At which Time the Leader of the Party made a formal Speech to the following Purpoſe: 'That having had repeated Accounts of the Miſchiefs done by the *French*, and of the frequent Murders committed by them, and that the *Mohawks*, notwithſtanding their Profeſſions of Friendſhip, ſuffered this Bloodſhed to remain unrevenged, his Heart could bear it no longer; he thereupon reſolved to open for his Brethren the Path to Revenge: That theſe two Scalps which he now preſented were taken at Noon-

'day

day in ſight of the *French* Fort at *Crown Point.*' His Excellency told him how well he took this ſpecial Mark of his Fidelity, and aſſured him, that he would not only now reward him and his Companions, by particular Preſents, but would always remember this Act of Friendſhip. They had already received the Reward given by the Act of Aſſembly. His Excellency gave each of them four *Spaniſh* Dollars; to the Leader a fine laced Coat and Hat, and a ſilver Breaſt-Plate; and to each of the others a Stroud Blanket and lac'd Hat.

Theſe *Indians* told us, that they lay ſeveral Days among the Buſhes, from whence they could ſee every Man that came out of the Fort-Gate. They endeavoured for ſome time to take a Priſoner, but obſerving that none went to ſuch a Diſtance from the Fort that they could hope to carry him off, they reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity for a Scalp: Two Soldiers coming out of the Fort, after the Chapel Bell had rung about Noon, one of the *Indians*, by their Leader's Order, fired with Swan Shot upon them while they were near to each other. It is a conſtant Rule among theſe ſculking Parties, never to fire without Orders from their Leader. One of the *French* Men was killed upon the Spot, the other wounded, and fled immediately towards the Fort Gate, the *Indian* who had fired, purſu'd, and with his Hatchet brought him down within a hundred Steps of the Fort Gate; and, though the *French* in the Fort ruſhed out at the Gate, he took his Scalp off; the others had ſcalped the Man that was firſt killed, and then they all fled. The *French* in their Hurry had run out without their Arms, and upon recollecting themſelves return'd to arm, which facilitated the Eſcape of the *Indians.*

His Excellency being informed, that the Leader of this Party was deſirous to be diſtinguiſhed by his Excellency's giving him a new Name, and that a Name, which in the Language of the *Six Nations*

Nations signified the *Path-opener*, would be moſt acceptable to him; his Excellency honour'd him with that Title; which he accepted very thankfully, and ſeem'd exceedingly pleaſed with it: Whereupon he ſaid, that the other two *Indians* having aſſociated with a *Mehikander*, or *River Indian*, were reſolved to go out againſt the Enemy: But as he thought he might be more uſeful by ſtaying, to aſſiſt at the enſuing Treaty, he was reſolved to remain here. He added, that in caſe the Interpreter, and others ſent to invite the *Six Nations* to meet here, fail'd in any Part, he would go among the *Six Nations*, and doubted not to bring many by his Influence, who otherwiſe might ſtay.

In a Day or two after, ſix of ſeven *Indians*, who had been ſent out by the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs to *Crown-Point*, to take Priſoners, and gain Intelligence, returned and ſaid, That they had gone to that Place, and that in ſight of it they had ſeparated, with Deſign thereby to ſurprize any Stragler that might have come out of the Fort: That while they were thus ſeparated, two of their Number were ſuddenly ſurrounded and taken by the Enemy: One of theſe two, after having been detained three or four Days, join'd the others at *Saraghtoga*. He ſaid, that he had been threatened with death by the *Adirondacks* [a]; but that the *Cahnuagas* [b] interpos'd, and by their Interceſſion he was ſet at Liberty; and ſome of the *Cahnuagas* conducted him through *Lac Sacrement*. He reported, that there was a great Number of Men, *French* and *Indians*, at *Crown-Point*. The other Priſoner, an *Onondaga*, conſented to remain with the *French*, and was ſent to *Canada*.

Soon

[a] A Nation of *Indians* living in *Canada*, who have always been firm Friends to the *French*, and formerly were at War with the *Six Nations*.

[b] A Number of *Indians* originally of the *Five Nations*, and Deſerters from them, now ſettled near *Montreal*, by whom the illicit Trade between *Albany* and *Montreal* was carried on: They are well acquainted with the Country about *Albany*.

Soon after this, ſixteen *Mohawk Indians* came to the Town, who had been ſent out from the lower *Mohawk* Caſtle by Mr. *Johnſon*, to gain Intelligence near *Crown-Point*, and to take Priſoners. They reported that they had diſcovered ſo great a Number of *French* and *Indians* at *Crown-Point*, that they had no Hopes of being able to bring off any Priſoners, and thought it adviſeable to return ſpeedily and inform of the great Danger they thought this Place was in. His Excellency invited them to go thither again, in order to deſcry the Motions of the Enemy: And as a farther Encouragement to them, to either Scalp or take Priſoners, he offered every Perſon of ſaid Party that ſhould take a Scalp or Priſoner, a Piece of Stroud, and a Suit of laced Clothes, beſides the Bounty; but they, being frightened with the Apprehenſions of Danger, declined going back, and ſaid, they muſt return Home and acquaint their Friends and Relations with what they had heard and ſeen. Several other *Indians* likewiſe alarmed the *Mohawks*, by telling them that the *French* had a great Force at *Crown-Point*, and that they would certainly attack either *Albany* or *Schenectade*, or the Settlements on the *Mohawks* River, or perhaps ſeveral Places at the ſame Time.

Mr. *Johnſon*, and the commanding Officer of the Garriſon of regular Troops in the *Mohawks* Country, by their Letters to his Excellency, confirm'd theſe Reports; and added, the *Mohawks* had entertain'd Apprehenſions of the *French* Force at *Crown-Point*, which was like to have a bad Effect. On this his Excellency wrote to Mr. *Johnſon*, that all theſe Stories of the *French* Force at *Crown-Point* were only Artifices of the *French* to intimidate the *Indians*, or to amuſe them, with Deſign to fruſtrate the Treaty which he intended to have with them; and that he was to aſſure the *Indians*, that they could be in no Danger from the *French*: However, that they might ſee that he would omit nothing

which

which they might think neceſſary for their Security, he had ordered a Lieutenant of Militia, with thirty Men, to reinforce the lower Caſtle, and had likewiſe ordered the Captain of Militia near the upper Caſtle, to aſſiſt the *Indians* there in fortifying their Caſtle, and to hold himſelf in Readineſs to ſupport them on any Emergency.

One *John Colan*, a *Frenchman*, who ſome Years ſince had removed from *Canada*, and ſettled and married at *Schenectade*, and who has ſince that Time lived in good Reputation there, was ſent by Major *Glen* to inform his Excellency, that one *Aaron*, a noted *Mohawk* Sachem, who with ſeveral others of the *Six Nations*, had been laſt Spring in *Canada* to treat with the Governor there, did then entertain two *Cahnuaga Indians*. This Man, *John Colan*, acquainted his Excellency, that having diſcovered the *Cahnuaga Indians*, he told them he was a *Frenchman*, and was deſirous of returning to his own Country, on which they began preſently to propoſe to him Methods for his Eſcape; at which Time, this *Aaron* coming near them, he expreſs'd his Fears of being diſcovered by him. They anſwered, that he need not fear *Aaron*, for he was their Friend, and deſigned to go with them. As they propoſed to him to eſcape privately by himſelf, and to meet them at a Place they named, he told them of his Fears, in that Caſe, of meeting with the *French Indians* while he was alone. They anſwered, that if he dreſs'd himſelf like an *Indian*, the *French Indians* would do him no Hurt, without firſt calling to him; upon which, if he ſtopp'd and call'd out *Maria*, the *French Indians* would be ſo far from hurting him, that they would immediately come up to him and take him by the Hand. From this, and ſeveral other Incidents, which it would be tedious to relate, his Excellency was convinced of ſome ſecret Underſtanding between the *Six Nations* and the *Cahnuagas*, or *French Indians*: And that, however

any

any Party of our *Indians* might be induced to fall upon the *French*, they would not at that Time moleſt the *French Indians*, nor prevent the Miſchiefs which the Inhabitants received from their ſculking Parties.

For this Reaſon, his Excellency endeavoured to ſend out again the Company of Rangers, which had formerly been employed againſt the ſculking *Indians:* But, as the Aſſembly had made no Proviſion for this Expence, they refuſed to go, unleſs he gave his perſonal Bond for their Pay, at *three Shillings* a Day for each private Man, beſides their Proviſion; and would not be ſatisfied with the Promiſes that he, by the Advice of the Council, made them of recommending their Service to the General Aſſembly, and the Aſſurances he gave them of their being rewarded as they deſired.

On their continuing obſtinate, his Excellency was of Opinion, that no conſiderable Service could be expected from Men, who were moved by no other Principle but that of exceſſive Wages: And he had Reaſon afterwards to be confirmed in this Opinion, when Captain *Langdon*, and afterwards Captain *Thebout*, voluntarily went with their Companies of the new-levied Troops to ſcour the Woods, and took ſome of theſe *Albany* Men with them as Guides, who whenever they apprehended themſelves in Danger, by the Diſcovery of recent Tracts, ſome one or other of them could not be kept from firing their Guns, or making ſome Noiſe, by which the *French Indians*, if any were near them, muſt know how to avoid them. Some *Indians*, who were likewiſe ſent out in Company with theſe Men, complained in like Manner.

The publick Interpreter, whom the Governor (as before obſerved) had ſent with others, to invite the *Six Nations* to meet him at *Albany*, wrote to the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs, That they met with great Difficulties and Obſtructions from the *Sachems*, who had been lately at *Canada*: That

the *Oneydoes* refuſed to give any Anſwer, tho' they had ſtaid there thirteen Days endeavouring to perſuade them; and that the *Cayugas* had abſolutely refuſed to meet the Governor. On which his Excellency deſired to be informed by the Commiſſioners of *Indian* Affairs, whether they knew of any Perſon of Influence or Intereſt with the *Indians*, and fit to be ſent among them on this Occaſion. They anſwered, that they knew of none; and that the *Indians* were in a very bad Diſpoſition, and much under the Influence of the *French*.

About this time his Excellency being informed, that the Interpreter, and others ſent with him, had neglected to ſend proper Invitations to the *Indians* living on the Branches of *Suſquehannah* River; and that Captain *Vroman*, of *Scohary*, was a proper Perſon to be ſent to thoſe *Indians*; he ſent him, in Company with Captain *Staats*, with a Belt of *Wampum* to invite them.

While the *Indian* Affairs appear'd in this diſcouraging State, an Account came to Town, that about twenty young *Chickeſaws* were come to the *Senekas*, to deſire them to ſhew them the Way to *Canada*. The *Chickeſaws* had always been Enemies to the *French*: A Party of about five hundred Men had, four Years before, been ſent out againſt them from *Canada*, who were ſo entirely routed by the *Chickeſaws*, that few returned. Theſe young *Chickeſaws* told the *Senekas*, that the *French* of *Canada* had, about four Years ſince, made them a Viſit, and were ſo kind to leave them four hundred Guns, which were now wore out; and, ſince the *French* had not thought fit to bring them any more Guns, they were reſolved to go to *Canada* to fetch new ones; and promiſed, that if the *Senekas* would ſhew them the Way, they would go Home and return with four hundred ſtout Fellows. Some other *Indian* Nations who lived to the Weſtward, diſcovering their Averſion to the *French* at the ſame Time,

Time, these Incidents assisted the Governor's Messengers in bringing more *Indians* to *Albany* than they expected, when they wrote to the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs.

While the Interpreter was at the more distant *Indian* Castles, Mr. *William Johnson* was indefatigable among the *Mohawks*; he dressed himself after the *Indian* Manner, made frequent Dances, according to their Custom when they excite to War, and used all the Means he could think of, at a considerable Expence, (which his Excellency had promised to repay him) in order to engage them heartily in the War against *Canada*. Tho' he succeeded, beyond what any Man in *Albany* thought could be done, yet several of the *Sachems* (in the *Conajohary*, or upper *Mohawk* Castle, chiefly) refused to engage in the War; but insisted, that as this War was entred into between the *English* and *French*, in which they had no Interest, they ought to remain neuter. The *English* and *French*, they said, could at any Time make Peace; but if they should enter into the War, *Indians* could not make up the Quarrel among themselves, otherwise than by the Destruction of one or the other. The *French* could have no Hopes of engaging the *Six Nations* on their Side against the *English*, and therefore wisely play'd this Game of endeavouring to make them stand neuter, which they could enforce by strong political Arguments, of which the *Indians* were sensible enough. *It is your Interest*, the *French* Emissaries said, *not to suffer either the* French *or the* English *to be absolute Masters; for in that Case you must become Slaves to the one or the other.* From this politic View chiefly, the Interpreter met with so much Opposition every where: Tho' it is not to be doubted, but that at the same Time the *French* had gain'd some particular *Sachems* entirely into their Interest; however, many were prevailed on to come to *Albany*, to hear what the Governor of *New-York*

had to ſay to them; tho' ſeveral Sachems ſtaid behind. When they of the more diſtant Nations came along with the Interpreter to the lower *Mohawk* Caſtle, and found that Mr. *Johnſon* had already engaged many of the young Men there to join the Army againſt *Canada*, the others blamed the *Mohawks*; telling them with ſome Warmth, That they had been very raſh in engaging ſo far. 'They ought, *the others ſaid*, to have conſidered 'that they, the *Mohawks*, were the ſmalleſt in 'Number of any of the *Six Nations*, and ought 'not to have proceeded to ſo great a Length, without the previous Conſent of the others.' To this the *Mohawks* anſwered, *It is true, we are leſs conſiderable as to Number, than any of the other Nations; but our Hearts are truly* Engliſh, *and all of us are Men*[a]; *ſo that, if our Force be put to the Trial, perhaps it will be found greater than you imagine.* Theſe Diſputes, however, continued ſo far, that the *Mohawks*, and the other *Five Nations*, could not go in Company to *Albany*; the *Mohawks* marched on one ſide of the River, while the other Nations went on the other ſide. [*There are two Roads from the* Mohawks *Caſtle to* Schenectada, *one on each ſide of the* Mohawks *River.*]

When the *Indians* came near the Town of *Albany*, on the 8th of *Auguſt*, Mr. *Johnſon* put himſelf at the Head of the *Mohawks*, dreſſed and painted after the Manner of an *Indian* War-Captain; and the *Indians* who followed him, were likewiſe dreſſed and painted, as is uſual with them when they ſet out in War. The *Indians* ſaluted the Governor as they paſſed the Fort, by a running Fire; which his Excellency ordered to be anſwered by a Diſcharge of ſome Cannon from the Fort: He afterwards received the Sachems in the Fort-Hall, bid them Welcome, and treated them with a Glaſs of Wine.

As,

[a] The *Six Nations* reckon all other *Indian* Nations Women, in compariſon to themſelves.

As, by all Accounts, the Disposition of the *Six Nations* seemed at this Time less in Favour of the *British* Interest than was to be wished, his Excellency thought it necessary to have frequent Conferences, in private, with the principal Sachems of each *Nation*; sometimes separately and singly, at other Times with some of each Nation jointly. There were only two of the *Mohawks* Sachems (besides *Aaron* before mentioned, who left the Castle at this Time) that could not be prevailed on by Mr. *Johnson* to declare themselves for entering into the War against *Canada*: They were both of the *Conajohary* or Upper-Castle, and one of them the Head of the Tribe called the *Tortoise*; (which, tho' not so numerous as that of the *Bear*, yet is looked on as the first in Rank or Dignity;) and, as he had been with the Governor of *Canada* last Spring, it was thought to be of some Consequence to gain him. Mr. *Colden*, above twenty Years since, had the Complement of being received into that Castle; and, about seven Years since (the last Time he had been with the *Mohawks*) had contracted some more particular Acquaintance with these two Sachems: He invited them to a private Conference, at which the Reverend Mr. *Barclay* assisted as Interpreter; they met him, and brought five more with them: After this Conference these Sachems appear'd as hearty as any of the others. He that was Head of the Tribe call'd the *Tortoise*, said, 'His Uncle 'had been the chief War-Captain among the *Mo-* 'hawks: That his Uncle had particularly distin- 'guished himself in their Wars against the *French*, 'and he was resolved to shew himself not unwor- 'thy of his Ancestors, nor of his Uncle's Name, 'which he had obtained after his Death.'

After the principal Sachems had, at these Conferences, been brought to a good Disposition, his Excellency advised with the Gentlemen of the Council, and the Commissioners from the *Massachusets*

Bay, on what might be proper to be ſaid to the *Six Nations* in the publick Speech, which he now propoſed to make to them. Col. *Wendell* and Mr. *Wells* had arrived from *Boſton* about the End of *July*, and ſoon after they came to Town, his Excellency ordered the Gentlemen of the Council to communicate to them all the Information which had been received, with reſpect to the *Indian* Affairs: And they had frequent Conferences together from Time to Time, as Occaſion required: It was likewiſe thought proper to communicate, what his Excellency intended to ſay to ſome of the Sachems of each Nation, who were thought moſt hearty in the *Britiſh* Intereſt; who ſaid, that it was well conceiv'd as could have been done, had they themſelves adviſed upon the Subject; only as it had been adviſed to obſerve in the firſt Draught, That ſome of his Majeſty's Subjects had been inſtigated by the *French* to riſe in Rebellion againſt the King; that they had been defeated by one of the King's Sons; that theſe poor People were now utterly ruined, and had nothing left but to bewail their Folly in the Miſery that was brought upon them, by ſuffering themſelves to be deluded by the Promiſes of the *French*; they ſaid, that they did not underſtand the Affairs on the other Side of the Sea, nor did they trouble their Heads about them; and as they had no Method of retaining what is ſpoke to them but by their Memories, they were afraid that this might perplex their Memories, and make them leſs attentive to what was properly their Buſineſs; and adviſed, that it ſhould be left out; which accordingly was done.

Another Difficulty remained; the publick Interpreter had been taken dangerouſly ill in his Return to *Albany*, and was at this Time confined to his Bed. Tho' ſeveral were employed, who had Knowledge ſufficient in the Language of the *Six Nations*, to make themſelves be underſtood, and to underſtand

ſtand what was ſpoke to them; yet none of them were ſo much Maſters of the Language, as to ſpeak with that Propriety and Diſtinctneſs that is expected, and uſual on ſo ſolemn an Occaſion. It was thought therefore proper, to make one of the Sachems underſtand the Speech, by the Aſſiſtance of the common Interpreters, that he might be able to deliver it Paragraph by Paragraph, as it ſhould be ſpoke. At firſt a *Mohawk* Sachem was pitched upon; but the Sachems themſelves told us, That for ſome time paſt a kind of Party-Diviſion among the *Six Nations* had ſubſiſted: That the *Mohawks*, *Onandagas*, and *Senekas*, form'd one Party; and the *Oneydoes*, *Tuſcaroras*, and *Cayugas*, the other: That, as the *Mohawks* might be ſuſpected to be more partial to the *Engliſh*, it would be of more Uſe to employ one of the other Party; and an *Oneydo* Sachem was propoſed for that Purpoſe. This Man was eaſily enough made to underſtand the Speech, and he repeated it ſeveral Times over in private, and was inſtructed where to make the proper Stops. After the Speech was delivered, ſome of the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs, and other Perſons preſent at the Delivery, who underſtood both Languages, acknowledged, that this *Indian* had acquitted himſelf of his Truſt faithfully, and had delivered the Senſe of the Speech clearly and diſtinctly.

While theſe laſt Preparations were making, his Excellency was taken ill of a Fever, which occaſioned ſome further Delay; and as his Excellency did not recover ſo ſoon as was wiſhed, the Sachems were told, that his Excellency being unwilling to detain them without neceſſity, would, if they deſired it, direct Mr. *Colden* to ſpeak to them in his Name, what he deſigned to ſay. They anſwered, that they would be well pleaſed to hear it from Mr. *Colden*'s Mouth.

At *ALBANY* the Nineteenth of *Auguſt*, 1746.

PRESENT,

The Hon^ble { CADWALLADER COLDEN, PHILIP LIVINGSTON, JOHN RUTHERFORD, } Eſqrs; of his Majeſty's Council for the Province of *New-York*.

The Commiſſioners from the Government of the *Maſſachuſets-Bay*.

The Commiſſioners of the Province of *New-York* for *Indian* Affairs.

The Mayor and Corporation of *Albany*. The Officers of the Independent Companies, and of the new Levies then at *Albany*. Several Gentlemen of the Province of *New-York*: And Strangers.

Mr. Colden *introduced the Speech as follows:*

HIS Excellency our Governor having been taken ill, and as yet not ſo well recovered as that he can ſafely come abroad; has ordered me (being the next Perſon to him in the Adminiſtration) to ſpeak to you in his Name, which I ſhall do in the ſame Words which he deſigned to have ſpoke, had he not been prevented by Sickneſs.

Brethren,

" I AM glad to ſee ſo many of our ancient Friends " here, and heartily bid you Welcome.

[*Gave three Strings of Wampum.*]

" I have call'd you to this Place for two great " Ends, in which the Province of the *Maſſachuſets-* " *Bay* have ſent Commiſſioners to concur with me, " who are here preſent.

" The *Firſt* is, to renew the Covenant-Chain " with you; and I now by this Belt, in your Fa- " ther the King of *Great-Britain*'s Name, in Behalf of

" of his Majesty's Subjects in *North-America*, re-
" new and confirm the Covenant-Chain, and all
" former Treaties and Engagements entered into
" with you. This Chain has from the Beginning,
" remained so firm and strong, that it has never
" once broke or slipt since it was first made; and
" we, on our Parts, shall endeavour that it remain
" so, unshaken, as long as the Sun and Moon shall
" endure. [*Gave a Belt.*]

" *Brethren*, Last Fall I told you, that his Ma-
" jesty's Subjects in this Country had, the Sum-
" mer before, lain still, without attempting any
" thing against the *French* Settlements: But that
" the *French* had by Surprize, attacked and de-
" stroyed a small Place near *Cape-Breton*, belong-
" ing to us.

" That they afterwards laid Siege to *Annapolis-*
" *Royal*, and were beat off.

" I likewise told you, That the Governor of the
" *Massachusets-Bay*, in Conjunction with *Connecti-*
" *cut* and *New-Hampshire*, had, in Revenge to
" these Injuries, sent an Army against *Louisburg*,
" on the Island of *Cape-Breton*; that the Army was
" joined by a Number of his Majesty's Ships of
" War, under the Command of your Friend Ad-
" miral *Warren*.

" I told you, that the Town of *Louisburg*, which
" is the strongest the *French* have in *America*, was
" reduced by this Force; and that the *French*
" there had surrendered themselves and their Coun-
" try to the *English*.

" I likewise told you, how we, in this Part of
" the Country, had lain still, hoping that the
" *French* in *Canada*, would either be quiet, or carry
" on the War in a manly Manner, and after the
" Manner of Christians. And to induce them
" thereto, a Message had been sent from this Place
" to the Governor of *Canada*, to tell him, That if
" he should revive the inhuman Custom of mur-

" dering

" dering private People, by ſculking *Indians*, that " the ſeveral Governors of his Majeſty's Colonies, " together with you our Brethren of the *Six Na-* " *tions*, would join and make Repriſals on them " in the like Manner; at which time you publickly " declared, that if any of his Majeſty's Subjects, " in any Part of his Governments, ſhould be killed " by any *Indians*, you would immediately join in " the War againſt them, and the *French*.

" And laſt Fall, when I delivered the Hatchet " into your Hands, you told me, and confirm'd " it with a Belt, That you would ſend ſome of " your People (who were then ready) to *Canada*, " to demand Satisfaction; and that if Satisfaction " was refuſed, you would uſe the Hatchet againſt " them, whenever I ſhould order it.

" And you further promiſed, That if the Ene- " my ſhould commit any further Hoſtilities, you " would then (upon my Commands) immediately " make Uſe of the Hatchet.

" I need not tell you, how far the *French* have " been from giving Satisfaction; on the contrary, " you are well acquainted with the cruel and bar- " barous Murders that have been committed, ſince " that Time, by the *French Indians* at *Saraghtoga*, " and in the Neighbourhoods of this Place, and " on the Frontiers of *New-England*; as you have " not hitherto fulfilled your Promiſes, I ſuſpect " that they did not come from your Hearts: I " therefore, by this Belt, demand an immediate " Performance of your Promiſes, to ſhew that " they come from the Bottom of your Hearts; as " all the Promiſes I make come from mine, and " ever ſhall. [*Gave a Belt.*]

" *Brethren*, I now come to the *ſecond* and prin- " cipal Deſign of our preſent Meeting, in which I " hope and expect to find you hearty, and united " in your Councils and Opinions. [*Gave a Belt.*]

" The

" The King your Father, having been informed " of the unmanly Murders committed on the Fron- " tiers of *New-England*, and of this Province, is " reſolved to ſubdue the Country of *Canada*, and " thereby put an End to all the miſchievous De- " ſigns of the *French* in theſe Parts. And for this " purpoſe, he has ordered his Governors of *Vir-* " *ginia*, *Maryland*, *Penſylvania*, and *New-Jerſey*, " to join their Forces to the Forces of this Pro- " vince, to attack *Canada* by Land: They are all " now upon their March, and you will ſoon ſee " them here.

" At the ſame Time the Forces of the *Maſſa-* " *chuſets-Bay*, *Connecticut*, *Rhode-Iſland*, and *New-* " *Hampſhire*, are to go in Ships to *Cape-Breton*, " and there join with his Majeſty's Ships of War, " and a great Army of experienc'd Soldiers from " *Great-Britain*.

" Many Ships of War are already arrived there, " and ſome thouſand of Soldiers; many more Ships " and Soldiers are following; and I expect every " Hour to hear of their Arrival; after which the " Attack upon *Canada* will be made on all Sides, " both by Sea and Land.

" You may perceive the King has ordered a " Strength ſufficient to ſubdue *Canada*; but at the " ſame Time, the King your Father expects and orders " you his Children, to join with your whole Force " in this Enterprize; and thereby gives the *Six Na-* " *tions* a glorious Opportunity of eſtabliſhing their " Fame and Renown over all the *Indian* Nations " in *America*, in the Conqueſt of your inveterate " Enemies the *French*; who, however they may " diſſemble and profeſs Friendſhip, can never for- " get the Slaughter which your Fathers made of " them; and for that purpoſe, careſs thoſe Nations " who have always been your inveterate Enemies, " and who deſire nothing ſo much as to ſee the

" Name

" Name of the *Six Nations* become obliterate, and " forgot for ever. [*Gave a Belt.*]

" *Brethren*, The *French*, on all Occaſions, ſhew, " that they act againſt your Brethren the *Engliſh*, " like Men that know they dare not look them in " the Face in Day-Light; and therefore, like " Thieves, ſteal upon poor People, who do not " expect them in the Night, and conſequently are " not prepared for them: Your Brethren in their " Revenge have acted like Men of Courage; they " do not attack poor Farmers at their Labour, but " boldly attempted the Reduction of *Louiſburg*, " the ſtrongeſt Town the *French* had in *America*, " in the fortifying of which they had ſpent above " twenty Years: It was ſurrounded with ſtrong " Walls and Forts, in which they had planted their " largeſt Cannon in every Place, where they thought " the *Engliſh* could come near them; notwithſtand- " ing of all theſe Precautions and Advantages, they " were forced to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* Valour.

" You muſt have heard from your Fathers, and " I doubt not ſeveral of your old Men ſtill remem- " ber what the *French* did at *Onondaga*; how they " ſurprized your Countrymen at *Cadarackui*; how " they invaded the *Senekas*, and what Miſchiefs " they did to the *Mohawks*; how many of your " Countrymen ſuffered by the Fire at *Montreal*. " Before they entered upon theſe cruel and miſ- " chievous Deſigns, they ſent Prieſts among you " to delude you, and lull you aſleep, while they " were preparing to knock you on the Head; and " I hear they are attempting to do the ſame now. [*Gave a Belt.*]

" I need not put you in mind what Revenge " your Fathers took for theſe Injuries, when they " put all the Iſland of *Montreal*, and a great Part " of *Canada*, to Fire and Sword; can you think " that the *French* forget this? No, they have the " Ax privately in their Hands againſt you, and

" uſe theſe deceitful Arts, by which only they have " been able to gain Advantage over you, that by " your truſting to them, they may at ſome time " or other, at one Blow, remove from the Face of " the Earth, the Remembrance of a People that " have ſo often put them to Shame and Flight.

" If your Fathers could now riſe out of their " Graves, how would their Hearts leap with Joy " to ſee this Day; when ſo glorious an Opportu- " nity is put into their Hands to revenge all the " Injuries their Country has received from the " *French*, and be never more expoſed to their " Treachery and Deceit. I make no doubt you " are the true Sons of ſuch renowned and brave " Anceſtors, animated with the ſame Spirit for " your Country's Glory, and in Revenge of the " Injuries your Fathers received, uncapable of be- " ing deluded by the flattering Speeches of them, " who always have been, and always muſt be, in " their Hearts, your Enemies, and who deſire no- " thing more, than the Deſtruction of your Na- " tions.

" I therefore invite you, *Brethren*, by this Belt, " to join with us, and to ſhare with us, in the Ho- " nour of the Conqueſt of our, and your deceit- " ful Enemies; and that you not only join all the " Force of the *Six Nations* with us, but likewiſe " invite all the Nations depending on you, to take " a Share in this glorious Enterprize: And I will " furniſh your fighting Men with Arms, Ammu- " nition, Cloathing, Proviſions, and every Thing " neceſſary for the War; and in their Abſence, " take Care of their Wives and Children.

[*Gave the War-Belt.*]

" *Brethren*, You have ſeen how daring and in- " ſulting on you, as well as us, the *French Indians* " have been, in cruelly murdering ſeveral of our " People, ſince you have come to this Place; and " therefore, for the many Reaſons now laid before

" you,

" you, I make no doubt but your Answer will " clearly manifest your Duty to the King your Fa- " ther, and your Love to your Brethren; and by " this Belt I do assure you, that our Intent is, to " live and die together." [*Gave a Belt of Friendship.*]

At every Stop where a Belt was given, one of the Sachems call'd out *Yo-hay*, to which all the rest answered in a Sound which cannot be expressed in our Letters, but seem'd to consist of two Words remarkably distinguished in the Cadence; it seem'd to this purpose; the Sachem calls, *Do your hear?* The Answer is, We attend and remember, or understand; or else it is a Kind of Plaudit our Interpreters could not explain. At the Close of the Speech, one Sachem of each Nation call'd out severally the *Yo-hay*, to which the others of the same Nation answer'd severally: But when the War-Belt was thrown down, they gave the War-Shout. We expected but six of these Plaudits, according to the Number of the *Six Nations*, but eight were distinctly delivered; by which we understood some other Nations were united with them on this Occasion.

After the Speech was delivered, the Sachems of the several Nations had Conferences together; and some time being spent in deliberating, they acquainted his Excellency, ' That they had agreed upon ' their Answer, which they were ready to give ' whenever he would appoint a Time to receive it;' and he named the next Day.

Accordingly on the 23d of *August*, His EXCELLENCY being present; the Gentlemen of the Council; the Commissioners from *Boston*; the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs; the Corporation of *Albany*; and many Gentlemen, as at the Time when his Excellency's Speech was delivered,

An *Onondaga* Sachem, who had formerly been Speaker for the *Six Nations* on ſeveral publick Occaſions, roſe up and ſpoke: What he ſaid was publickly interpreted, in the Hearing of ſeveral who underſtood the *Indian* Language well, as follows:

Brethren of *New-York*, and of the *Maſſachuſets-Bay*,

WE the Six Nations *are now aſſembled together as one Man, and we take in the* Meſſeſagues *for the ſeventh Nation; and what is now to be ſpoken by one Mouth, are the joint and ſincere Thoughts of every Heart.*

We are pleas'd that you follow the Steps of our Fore-fathers, in wiping off the ſorrowful Tears from our Eyes, by which the Stoppage of our Throats are opened, and the bloody Bed waſh'd clean.

[Gave three Strings of Wampum.]

Brethren, *The firſt Time we met together, we only ſaluted each other by ſhaking of Hands; we afterwards made a Covenant Chain of Silver, which we mutually have held faſt to this Day; ſhould it now ſlip from either of our Hands, it would prove Deſtruction to both Sides, ſince our Enemies have drawn the Sword.* [Gave a Belt.]

Brother of *New-York*; *Laſt Year you gave us the Hatchet to be made Uſe of againſt your Enemies, the* French, *which we accepted and promiſed to make uſe of it if they ſhould commit any farther Hoſtilities upon the* Engliſh, *which they have now done by deſtroying* Saraghtoga, *and ſhedding a great deal of Blood: Hitherto we have made no uſe of the Hatchet; but as you now call upou us, we are ready, and do declare from the Bottom of our Hearts, that we will from this Day, make uſe of it againſt the* French, *and their Children*, (meaning their *Indians.*)

[*N. B.* The Queſtion was aſked them by his Excellency, Whether by the Words *their Children*, they

they meant all the *Indians* in Alliance with the *French?* to which they anſwered, *Yes.*]

[At the End of the foregoing Paragraph, the Speaker threw down a War-Belt of Wampum on the Ground, it being the *Indian* Cuſtom to deliver War-Belts, or make Declaration of War in this Manner: This he did with a remarkable Shew of Indignation, intending thereby to expreſs their Reſentment againſt the *French* and their Allies, and their Zeal for the *Engliſh.*] [*Gave a Belt.*]

Brother of *New-York*; *According to your Exhortation in your Speech to us, we are firmly united together from this Time, to act as having one Heart*; *the* Meſſeſagues *are in the ſame Manner joined and united with us, likewiſe the Southern Nations bordering upon us*; *and we hope that you, and the other Governors on the Continent, will be in the ſame Manner joined and united together.* [Gave a Belt.]

[They repeated over his Excellency's Speech in Relation to the Conqueſt of *Cape-Breton*; and added, *We hope that our Fleet and Army will be alſo victorious in the preſent Expedition againſt* Canada; *for the* French *are a miſchievous People.* [Gave a Belt.]

As to your Suſpicions of our admitting French *Prieſts among us, they are become groundleſs, ſince we have now declared War againſt them: The admitting of Prieſts, would only tend to lull us aſleep to our Deſtruction*; *ſhould any now dare to come, we know no Uſe for them but to roaſt them. The Thoughts of the Treatment we formerly received from the* French, *thro' the Means of their Prieſts, and which you now ſeaſonably have brought to our Remembrance, makes our Blood to boil.*

Brother of *New-York*; *This is the ſecond Time you have put the Hatchet into our Hands, which we accept, and are ready to go upon Service. You may ſee that we have*

have but a Handful of fighting Men here at preſent; however, ſome of them from each Nation ſhall be left behind us to follow your Orders.

When we return to our reſpective Caſtles, we ſhall ſend down a great Number of our Warriors, and of thoſe of the Nations in Alliance with us, as ſoon as poſſible.

This we aſſure you of from the Truth and Sincerity of our Hearts; and we receive, and ſhall preſerve this large Belt, [holding it up at the ſame Time] *which you have now given us, as a War-Hatchet.*

Brethren, *This is the Belt of Union with which we are to go Hand in Hand to the Gate of our Enemies, and by it we declare our Intention to conquer or die in the common Cauſe.*

There is a Nation call'd the Meſſeſagues, *whoſe Delegates are here preſent: They conſiſt of five Caſtles, containing eight hundred Men, who are all determined, and do agree to join us, in this common Cauſe, againſt our Enemies the* French, *and their* Indians; *and we hope you, and the Commiſſioners from* Boſton, *will uſe them in ſuch a Manner that they will go home content and ſatisfied.*

[Gave a Belt of Union, in which the Figures of ſeveral Perſons join'd Hand in Hand, was wrought.

The Perſon who interpreted, returned the *Yo-hah* at the End of every Paragraph, and having done the ſame at the Time they declared War, it occaſioned Laughter among them; upon which, obſerving his Miſtake, he began the War-Shout, in which all the *Indians* joined.

The *Meſſeſagues* are a Nation of *Indians*, living near the Place called *De Troit* by the *French*, and ſituate between Lake *Erie* and the *Huron* Lake.

After the Speaker had finiſhed, his Excellency told them by the Interpreter, that the King their Father had ordered him to make them a Preſent on

this Occaſion; and that the Government of *Virginia* had on the ſame Occaſion, ſent them a Preſent. The Commiſſioners from *Boſton* at the ſame Time told them, that they had a Preſent from their Government; and as they were ſoon to return Home, deſired the *Six Nations* to come to their Lodgings to receive it; on which the *Indians* deſired his Excellency to delay his Preſent to next Day, and they immediately went to receive their Preſents from the Commiſſioners of the *Maſſachuſets-Bay*.

The next Day, the Preſents from the King being expoſed on one Part, and thoſe from *Virginia* ſeparately near them, it was agreed by the People of *Albany*, who had ſeen many publick Preſents given to the *Six Nations* on Treaties with them, that this was the moſt valuable ever given. His Excellency on giving the Preſents, ſaid;

" *Brethren*,

" YOU here ſee a Token of the Regard the " King your Father has for you; and there " is a Token of the Friendſhip of the Government " of *Virginia*: But on this Occaſion I cannot for- " bear taking Notice to you, that ſome of your " People being at *Canada*, when the News of the " Reduction of *Cape-Breton* came there, and when " the *French* expected that *Quebec* would be im- " mediately attacked in Conſequence of it, ſeveral " of them joined with the *French*, and promiſed " them Aſſiſtance. This occaſioned ſome Uneaſi- " neſs to your Brethren, being contrary to the " Faith of your Nations, as well as to your Bre- " thren's Expectations; however, you may now, " by performing the Promiſes you Yeſterday made " in the moſt ſolemn Manner, remove all Suſpi- " cions; and for ever ſecure the Friendſhip of your " Brethren, which hitherto has from the Beginning, " remained unviolated on their Parts. The Goods " now before you, are Preſents to the *Six Nations*;

" and,

" and, as we have received the *Meſſeſagues* into the " Covenant between you and us, I expect that they " ſhall ſhare with you. Beſides theſe general Pre- " ſents now made to your Nations, I have pre- " pared proper Cloathing for your War-Captains, " and the Warriors who ſhall go under their Com- " mand; together with Arms, Ammunition and " Proviſions, which ſhall be delivered to the ſe- " veral Parties at the Time they ſhall go out on " Service."

What his Excellency ſaid having been interpret- ed by a *Mohawk* Sachem, the Sachem added of his own Head, *You now ſee how you are here treated, really like Brethren; the Governor of* Canada *does not treat his* Indians *ſo; they are ſet on like his Dogs, and they run on without Thought or Conſideration: You ſee what a noble Preſent is made to you; if the Governor of* Canada *ſhould ſeize all the Goods in that Country, it would not be in his Power to make ſuch a Preſent.*

The *Onondaga* Sachem, Speaker of the *Six Na- tions*, immediately replied,

Brethren of *New-York*, *New-England*, and *Virginia*;

WE heard, and obſerve well, what you now and formerly ſpoke to us; and we beg no mention may hereafter be made of what paſſed laſt Fall, ſince we are now heartily enter'd into the War with you, and have promiſed as many fighting Men from each Caſtle as can be ſpared; and likewiſe to engage as great Numbers of every Nation in Alliance with us, as we can, to join immediately with us in the War againſt the French, *and the Nations who adhere to them.*

Brethren of *New-York*, *New-England*, and *Virginia*,

You muſt not ſuſpect that it proceeds from any Back- wardneſs in us, that a greater Number of our People

do not at this Instant join with you; the Reason is, our Castles have but few fighting Men in them, many are now Abroad, some hunting and trading with far distant Nations, and others out fighting against our Enemies; all these we shall recall Home as soon as possible, in order to enter with all our Force, into the War against your and our common Enemy.

Brother, *We have no more to say at this Time, but only to tell you, we are sorry that we can so little shew our Hearts by the Presents we now offer; our hunting has been so very poor, that we cannot make you Presents suitable to our Inclinations.*

The *Mohawks* added separately: *We have been employed all Summer in your Service as Out-scouts, to gain Intelligence, or in some Manner or other, and thereby kept from hunting: We have no Furrs to offer you, but we here present our Persons, to serve you wherever you shall command.*

That Day was spent in dividing the Presents among themselves. We were told, that these Presents were divided into eight equal Parts, of which they gave two to the *Messesague* Deputies.

The next Day the War-Kettle was set over the Fire, and towards Evening the *Indians* in his Excellency's Presence, where many Gentlemen attended him, began the War-Dance, and continued it till late in the Night: They were painted as when they go to War. The Dance is a slow and solemn Motion, accompanied with a pathetick Song. The *Indians* in their Turns perform this singly, but it is not easy to describe the Particularities of it.

His Excellency call'd several of the chief Sachems who had been useful in the Treaty, to him in private, and gave them Presents severally; neither did he forget the *Messesague* Deputies: He had a particular Conference with one of them in private, the other was sick of the Small-Pox. At this Conference, this Deputy assured his Excellency of

the good Inclinations of his Nation to the *Engliſh*, and their Averſion to the *French*; he ſaid, 'That 'many of the Nations to the Weſtward of them, 'diſliked the *French*;' and as an Inſtance of it, he told, 'That the *French* lately having preſſed a 'neighbouring Nation to take up the Hatchet 'againſt the *Engliſh*, they received it; but made 'Uſe of it againſt the *French* themſelves, and 'kill'd all the *French* then with them, being ſixty 'in Number, with the Loſs of only one Man of 'their own Nation.' His Excellency made him handſome Preſents, and gave him a Belt to carry to his Nation, with an Invitation to join in the War againſt the *French*; the *Meſſeſague* received them with a Profeſſion of the moſt ſincere and hearty Friendſhip; and that he made no doubt of bringing two, three, or four hundred Men of his Nation, to ſerve this Fall againſt the *French*. He added, 'That he and ſeveral of his Relations would im-'mediately uſe their beſt Endeavours, with ſeve-'ral other Nations to the Weſtward of them, who 'were numerous, to join againſt the *French*; in 'which, *he ſaid*, he had great Hopes of Succeſs, 'becauſe they were diſſatisfied with the *French*.'

His Excellency took all poſſible Care of the ſick *Meſſeſague*, had him brought into a Houſe, and ordered him, to be attended by two Phyſicians; but the poor Man had the Misfortune to die, after he had been above a Fortnight ill. When he found himſelf near his End, he ſent to the Governor, to deſire him as his laſt Requeſt, that his Excellency would ſend the firſt *French* Scalp that ſhould be taken, to his Mother; and when he was told that his Excellency had promiſed it, he ſhewed a Contentedneſs and Reſignation to Death. This Misfortune was increaſed by the Death of the other *Meſſeſague* Deputy likewiſe, who was taken ill in his Way Home, and died. The *Six Nations* took Care of their Wives and Children, who had come with

them; and it was not doubted but that they, and all the Preſents given them, would be ſafely conveyed to their own Homes.

Having ſo far given an Account of what paſſed with the *Six Nations*, it may be proper next to relate the Treaty with the *Mehikanders*, or *River Indians*, *viz.* The ſeveral Tribes of *Indians* living at ſeveral Places on each Side of *Hudſon*'s River.

On his Excellency's Arrival at *Albany*, having found that there had been a Neglect in ſending for the *Eſopus* and *Miniſſink Indians*, he ſent Orders for them to be invited. The *Mehikanders* being conveened the 21ſt, his Excellency directed Mr. *Colden* to ſpeak to them in his Name and Words; which Mr. *Colden* did; the other Gentlemen of the Council, the Commiſſioners from *Boſton*, the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs, and ſeveral other Gentlemen being preſent, in the Words following:

" *Children*,

" I AM glad to meet you at this Time, as are " likewiſe the Commiſſioners from the *Maſſa-* " *chuſets-Bay*, who are now come hither to concur " with me upon the preſent Occaſion; and I take " this Opportunity to renew the ancient Covenant " Chain with you, in Behalf of this and all his " Majeſty's Governments in *America*, which you " know has always been kept bright and clean, " without any of the leaſt Stain or Ruſt, and which " by this Belt I ſtrengthen. [*Gave a Belt.*]

" *Children*, My meeting you here, beſides re- " newing the Covenant Chain, is with Intention " that you ſhould join your Force with ours, by " taking up the Hatchet againſt our and your com- " mon Enemies the *French*, and their *Indians*; " who have in a very unmanly Manner, by ſculk- " ing Parties, murdered in cold Blood, many of " your Brethren in this and the Province of the " *Maſſachuſet's-Bay*.

" This

" This Behaviour lays us under a Neceſſity of " making Repriſals on them in like Manner, in " which I make no doubt of your Aſſiſtance; and " we are reſolved to take a thorough Revenge of " our and your perpetual Enemies, by reducing " the Country of *Canada*, that it may not be in " the Power of theſe perfidious, deceitful, and " cruel People, to do you or us any Injury for " the future: For which Purpoſe all the neighbour- " ing Colonies, together with many Ships of War " and Soldiers from *Great-Britain*, are reſolved to " unite their Force, and to attack *Canada* in all " Parts, both by Sea and Land; and I make no " doubt, you will on this Occaſion ſhew yourſelves " dutiful Children, in joining heartily with us and " the *Six Nations*, in this glorious Enterprize; by " which you will not only gain Honour and Re- " nown, but alſo Safety and Proſperity to your- " ſelves, your Wives, and Children for ever after- " wards: And for which End I will furniſh your " fighting Men with Arms, Ammunition, Cloath- " ing, Proviſions, and every Thing neceſſary for " the War." [*Gave a War-Belt.*]

On the 26th they gave their Anſwer, which was interpreted in the following Words; (the ſame Perſons being preſent, that were when the Gover- nor's Speech was delivered to them.)

Father,

WE are glad to ſee you; and we are come to re- new the Covenant Chain, and make it faſt and bright as ever, and free from Ruſt, and as a Token thereof we give you this Belt. [Gave a Belt.]

Father, *You have told us what Miſchief the* French *have done, and what Murders upon the Chriſ- tians they have committed; therefore we declare from our Hearts, and not from our Lips only, that as you have ordered us to ſhed the Enemies Blood in Return*

for what they have done, we are reſolved to live and die with you in the common Cauſe.

When you Chriſtians are at War, you make Peace with one another, but it is not ſo with us, therefore we depend upon you to take Care of us; in Confidence of which, we now take up the Hatchet, and will make Uſe of it againſt the French, *and their* Indians.

[Gave a Belt with a Hatchet.]

After their Anſwer they began the War-Dance, and his Excellency ordered a conſiderable Preſent in Goods to be publickly given them. None of theſe are ſuſpected to be under *French* Influence.

As there was no Advice of the Arrival of the Fleet, and no Plan of Operations agreed on in Caſe the Fleet did not arrive, the ſupporting of about ſeven hundred *Indians* was a great Expence to his Excellency, for which he had no Allowance from the Province of *New-York*, or for any other Charge attending this Treaty: And as many of the *Indians*, (above twenty) had got the Small-pox, it being impracticable to prevent their going into Town, or converſing with the Town's People, and the *Indians* becoming uneaſy by Reaſon of the Sickneſs of many, and Death of ſome; his Excellency thought it moſt prudent to diſmiſs them as ſoon as poſſible from this Place, and to give Orders to Mr. *Johnſon*, to ſend out ſeveral Parties from *Schenectade*, or his own Settlement near the lower *Mohawk* Caſtle, to harraſs the *French* Settlements in *Canada*; and for that Purpoſe delivered to him Cloathing, Arms and Ammunition, to be given to the fighting Men, as his Excellency had promiſed them whenever they entered on Service, and impowered him to furniſh them with Proviſions, and whatever Neceſſaries they ſhould want.

Before they went, his Excellency ſent to them, to deſire them to leave their Sick, with a Promiſe to take all Care poſſible of them, and that he would

order

order Physicians to attend them. They were very sensible of this Kindness, and acknowledged it; but not above two or three could be prevailed to stay, who were so ill that they could not be removed: All possible Care was taken of the other Sick, in the Waggons which carried them to *Schenectade.*

On the 26th of *September*, the Captains *Staats* and *Vromen*, brought the *Indians* living on the Branches of the *Susquehannah* River; they came in the *Indian* Order, marching in a single Line one after the other, and as they passed the Fort, saluted by a running Fire along the Line; which Salute the Governor ordered to be returned, by a Discharge of some Cannon from the Fort.

On *Monday* the 8th of the same Month his Excellency spoke to them, telling them the Substance of what he had ordered to be said to the *Six Nations*, and their Answer; and as this has been set forth at Length before, it is needless to repeat what was then said. The Reason of his Excellency's speaking to them in this Manner was, because these Nations living on the *Susquehannah* River and its Branches, are known to be Dependents on the *Six Nations.*

The next Day they gave their Answer; the Gentlemen of the Council, the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs, the Corporation of *Albany*, the Officers of the four Independent Companies, and several Officers of the new Levies, and other Gentlemen being present, as they were when his Excellency spoke to the *Indians:* Their Answer was publickly interpreted as as follows;

Brother of *New-York*,

WE live at Ohguago; *what News you send to the* Six Nations *is not truly reported to us, nor what the Governor of* Canada *sends to them; we have not been properly taken Notice of, nor timely acquaint-*

ed

ed with your Design to treat with the Six Nations, *till near the Time that your Interview with them was over; otherwise we should have readily come along with them, to hear what our Brother had to propose to us; and if we had received earlier Notice, a much larger Number of our fighting Men would have come along with us: Our Settlements are scattering, and some of them at a great Distance from others, and many of our Men are from Home a hunting; we have, however, sent the Belt of Invitation forward to those who live at a greater Distance, that they may be able at the Time appointed, to come and join us in the War, as by your Belt we were desired.*

Brother, *You Yesterday informed us of what you had said to the* Six Nations, *and their Answer; we are grieved that the* Six Nations *have not already made use of the Hatchet, but have hitherto kept it by them, and have not sent out their young Men to revenge the Murders which have been committed by the Enemy.*

We are resolved to make use of the Hatchet against the French, *to revenge the Injuries done to you and your People, our Brethren.*

We have received at Times very different Kind of News from the Six Nations, *sometimes it seemed as if the* French *would be Masters; but it cannot be so, they are a deceitful People, and cannot be trusted; they make fair Promises, and have no Intention to perform them; they flatter themselves with Hopes to be Masters, but they shall be disappointed; for we shall keep the Hatchet firmly in our Hands, and are resolved to make Use of it.*

We know several Roads that lead to Canada, *we want to see the Hatchet, that we may take it up.*

Upon which his Excellency threw down a Hanger, which the Speaker took up and began the War-Dance, and several others danced the same after him.

After

After which they desired his Excellency to take Care of them, as he had promised.

His Excellency returned them Thanks for their so readily taking up the Hatchet; he said, that he would presently set the War-Kettle over the Fire, and provide them with every Thing necessary for the War. His Excellency gave them a handsome Present in publick for their Nations in general, and private Presents to their principal Sachems; one of which promised, that after his return Home, he would go round all the *Indian* Settlements, to invite them into the War against the *French*, and their *Indians*; and that he did not doubt to be able to bring six hundred Men from the *Indian* Settlements on the *Susquehannah* River and its Branches, to march at any Time, and to any Place, his Excellency should appoint, in order to join the Forces intended against *Canada*; in the mean Time they would cause a Party of their Men to go out with his Men to scour the Woods, and clear them of the *French* sculking *Indians*.

About this Time, a Serjeant of Capt. *Livingston*'s Company was surprized and killed by a sculking Party of *French Indians*: In a few Minutes after the Account of this came to his Excellency, who happened to be dining at that Time in Capt. *Wrexall*'s Tent, fourteen of the *Susquehannah Indians* were observed running past the Tent, in order to cross the River, and meet the *French Indians*; which his Excellency observing, and being apprehensive that they might meet with some of the Parties of the new Levies that were gone out for the same Purpose, and that they might be in Danger of being attacked through Mistake; he ask'd if any of the Guard which then attended, would voluntarily go along with the *Indians?* Two Men offered themselves, who went with one who understood the *Indian* Language, in order to prevent Mistakes. Happy it was that this Precaution was taken;

taken; for Capt. *Fanning* with a great Part of his Company, having gone out with the ſame Intention of intercepting the *French Indians*, he diſcovered this Party of our *Indians*, and taking them to be *French Indians*, he kept his Men under the Cover of ſome Buſhes, with their Arms ready to fire, expecting the nearer Approach of the *Indians*; when one of the Chriſtians who were with them, obſerving Capt. *Fanning*'s Men, called out, and came up to Capt. *Fanning* when his Men were ready to fire. None of the Parties that went out were able to diſcover any of the Enemy.

His Excellency afterwards ſent out ſixteen of theſe *Indians*, and cloathed them for that Purpoſe, together with about ſixty Men detached from the Companies levied in the County of *Albany*, in order to ſcour the Woods, and to advance as far as the Lakes to gain Intelligence, by taking Priſoners or otherwiſe. While this Party was out, ſome of the *Indians* fell ſick, and the others being apprehenſive of the ſame Misfortune, they return'd, after having been but a few Days in the Woods. His Excellency then perceiving the Uneaſineſs the *Indians* were under from the Apprehenſions of Sickneſs, found it neceſſary to diſmiſs them all, on their Promiſe to return, whenever his Excellency ſhould order, with all the Force they ſhall be able to collect; and which, they ſaid, as before obſerved, might amount to ſix hundred Men. The Number of *Indians* that came at this Time from the *Suſquehannah* River, conſiſted only of about ſixty fighting Men, beſides old Men, Women, and Children: More had come near to *Albany*, but having there heard of the Small-pox and Sickneſs that was at *Albany*, and that many of the *Six Nations* had catched the Infection, and ſeveral of them were dead, they returned back.

After the *Six Nations* left *Albany*, many of them were taken ſick on their Way Home, before they reached

reached the *Mohawk* Caſtles, and a conſiderable Number of the briſkeſt young Men of the *Mohawks* died. This retarded the Execution of the Order given to Mr. *Johnſon*, to ſend out Parties to harraſs the *French* Settlements in *Canada*, though he uſed all the Means in his Power to effect it. While he was preſſing them to this Purpoſe, one of the Sachems who had promiſed to head a Party from the *Canajohary* Caſtle, ſaid, *You ſeem to think that we are Brutes, that we have no Senſe of the Loſs of our deareſt Relations, and ſome of them the braveſt Men we had in our Nation: You muſt allow us Time to bewail our Misfortune.*

About ten Days before his Excellency left *Albany*, a Party of upwards of ſeventy Men, conſiſting of ſome of each Nation, went againſt *Canada*: Some Chriſtians were of the Party to aſſiſt and direct, and to be Witneſſes of the Behaviour of the *Indians*. They were to avoid all the Lakes, and the uſual Roads and Paſſes to *Canada*, and were to go thro' the Woods over Mountains, that are ſeldom paſſed, to prevent the Enemies diſcovering them: But after theſe had been out, Capt. *Butler*'s Son, to whom the chief Direction of this Party was committed, was taken ill of the Small-pox, and five of the *Indians* were obliged to return to carry him Home. Another ſmall Party was ſent out to take Priſoners, and gain Intelligence at *Crown-Point*. At the writing of this, it is not known what Succeſs they have had.

When the *Six Nations* had come as far as the lower *Mohawk* Caſtle, in their return Home, they were met by about ſix Men of their own Nations, who delivered a Meſſage from *Canada*, which had been brought by the *Indian* who was taken by the *French* at *Crown Point*, and carried to *Canada*. The Meſſage was interpreted in the following Words: "The Governor of *Canada* had called the *Cahnu-*
"*aga Indians* to him, and then complained to
"them,

" them, that ſome of the *Six Nations*, his Chil-
" dren, had killed ſome of his People: You all
" know, *he ſaid*, that I am not haſty or paſſionate,
" but will rather bear a great deal than ſhew Re-
" ſentment, wherefore I am reſolved to paſs this
" over; but in the mean Time I muſt deſire you
" to go among the *Six Nations*, to find out the
" Reaſon of this Proceeding, and to tell them,
" that if any Thing like it happen again, I will
" make them ſmart: You may nevertheleſs aſſure
" my Children [a] of the *Six Nations*, that I love
" and eſteem them equally with the *Cahnuagas*,
" or *Shawendadies* [b], being of the ſame Blood.
" And to convince them of my Love, I now ſend
" back to them one of their People that was taken
" at *Crown Point*, without eating his Fleſh. And
" now *Cahnuagas*, my Children, I would not have
" you ſpill any more Blood from *Albany* upwards,
" for I begin to pity their Weakneſs; but turn
" your Arms towards *New-England*, againſt your
" moſt inveterate Enemies, there is the Place for
" you to gain Honour now."

The *Cahnuagas* gave the following Anſwer to the Governor of *Canada:* Father, *You are in the wrong, to deſire us to go among the* Six Nations *for Intelligence, or with Menaces; for ſuch will only ſtir them up, and bring them and all their Allies* (*who are very numerous*) *upon you, to deſtroy you at once. We know they are not to be bullied by your Words or ours, wherefore,* Father, *we muſt leave you to go through this Work by yourſelf.*

After having as above, related what had paſſed between them and the Governor of *Canada*, they ſent the following Meſſage from themſelves.

Brethren

[a] The Governor of *Canada* calls the *Six Nations*, (and all the *Indian* Nations depending on him) *Children*, as the Governor of *New-York* calls them *Brethren*.

[b] Another Settlement of Deſerters from the *Six Nations*, and dwelling near *Montreal*.

Brethren of the Six Nations, "We hear the Governor of *New-York* has invited you to meet "him; we intreat you not to mind any Thing he "shall say, in order to set you against us; for if "you do, you, as well as we, must all die. Where- "fore, *Brethren*, we conjure you by all the Ties of "Friendship subsisting between us, to inform us of "any Design that is plotting against us; and that "when any such Thing shall be discovered, you "will send an Express to *Cadarackui* [a], where our "Fire always burns.

"*Brethren*, We shall be glad to see you next "Spring at *Cahnuaga*, to hold a Council toge- "ther, where you shall be as safe and welcome as "ever.

"*Brethren*, The Governor our Father, being in- "formed, that your Governor is raising Men to "come against *Canada*, desires us to tell you, that "he has *one thousand eight hundred* Men at *Crown* "*Point*, ready to give them Battle; in which "Number, the Men of eight Castles of the *Uta-* "*wawas* are included.

"*Brethren*, Be not angry at our destroying *Sa-* "*raghtoga* last Fall; Col. *Schuyler* dar'd us to it, "by saying he wished to see a *French* Army there: "We gratified him in his Wish."

A *Cahnuaga Indian* was sent along with the Prisoner that was restored; but when he came near the Settlements of the *Six Nations*, his Heart fail'd him, and he sent the Prisoner forward by himself with the Message.

The Readiness with which the *Six Nations* communicated this Message, and the slight they in all Appearance put upon it, is some Proof of their Sincerity in the Promises they made to his Excellency; neither from any Thing which has happened can it be shewn, that they were not sincere. On the contrary,

[a] A *French* Fort opposite to *Oswego*, and the East End of *Cadarackui* Lake, or Lake *Frontenac*.

trary, it appears by Mr. *Johnſon*'s Letter to his Excellency of the 21ſt of *October*, that ſeveral Parties are now out againſt the *French*; and that Mr. *Johnſon* having received Orders from Col. *Roberts*, to ſend as many *Indians* as poſſible to join the Army, all the *Mohawks*, even their oldeſt Men, were fitted out and ready; and having ſent to the upper Caſtles at the ſame Time, they appeared ſo hearty, that there would not have remained above three old Men in any of the next Caſtles: And that Col. *Roberts* afterwards contradicting theſe Orders, they had appeared very uneaſy on their being ſtopt. It was not expected that they would enter into the War without us, or by themſelves, neither are they a People of ſo little Thought, as to give any Reaſon to expect it from them.

When the Companies raiſed in *Penſylvania* arrived at *Albany*, his Excellency was informed by their Captains, that Mr. *Thomas* Governor of that Province, had ſent *Conrad Weiſer* their publick Interpreter, among the *Suſquehannah Indians*; and that they expected his Arrival at this Place in a little Time, with at leaſt three hundred *Indians*. The Treaties with the *Indians*, which Mr. *Thomas* has publiſhed, gave great Hopes of the Succeſs that Interpreter would have; and thereby increaſed the Diſappointment, when Mr. *Weiſer* arrived a few Days before his Excellency left *Albany*, and did not bring one *Indian* with him.

His Excellency Governor *Clinton*, had perhaps more Difficulties to ſtruggle with on this Occaſion, than any Governor of *New-York* had at any Time: The *Six Nations* had on ſeveral Occaſions given Grounds of Miſtruſt; the Governor of *Canada* was attempting all the Means in his Power to divert their Affections from us; the People of the County of *Albany* had for ſome Time paſt, entertained a Diſſatisfaction in the Conduct of the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs; the Commiſſioners themſelves

were

were divided in their Sentiments, and ſeveral of them refuſed to attend their Meetings; and they confeſſed to his Excellency, that they had loſt all Influence on the *Indians*; Mr. *Gooch* having declined the Command of the Forces at *Albany*, his Excellency was forced likewiſe to undertake a new and great Care, which he in no Manner expected when he left the City of *New-York*, and which from many Incidents, was attended with many Difficulties. If theſe Things be duly conſidered, and the Dangers his Perſon was in from the Infection of two different Diſeaſes, which at that Time raged in the City of *Albany*, of which great Numbers died during his Reſidence there of near three Months; none can doubt of his hearty Zeal for the Succeſs of an Affair, in which the Safety and Proſperity of all the Colonies in North *America*, were immediately concerned.

But as every one may not be ſufficiently apprized of what Conſequence the *Six Nations* being hearty, is to the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, it may be proper to obſerve, That though a Number of *Indians* to march with the Army, which was intended to attack *Canada*, would be of great Uſe in diſcovering and defeating the Ambuſhes of the Enemy's *Indians*, while they were every Day to be guarded againſt by the Forces which were to march by Land, and would by their Incurſions into the Enemy's Country, terribly haraſs them, and keep them from joining their Forces into any great Body to oppoſe the Deſign; theſe are not the moſt conſiderable Advantages might be gained from the Affection of the *Six Nations* at this Time, or any Time of War; for if the inland Extent of the Colonies from *Nova Scotia* to *Georgia* be conſidered, and at the ſame Time the numerous *Indian* Nations on the Continent of *America*, who may by the Artifices of the *French* be induced to make Incurſions every where; and the cruel Methods by which the

Indians make Incurſions in ſmall Parties, from the vaſt Foreſt which every where covers the Continent, and which in many Places is impenetrable; it muſt evidently appear, that though the *Engliſh* Colonies be of much ſuperior Force in Numbers of Men, yet their Number would not be ſufficient to protect their Frontiers from the Incurſions of the *Indians* in every Place: And, that while their Forces muſt in this Caſe be divided and ſcattered all over their Frontiers, it may be in the Power of the *French* in *Canada*, to invade with Succeſs any Part of the *Engliſh* Colonies. On the other Hand, if a proper Attempt were to be made by the Northern Colonies alone, without the Aſſiſtance of their Mother Country, but with the Aſſiſtance of the *Indians*, it would in all Appearance be ſufficient to reduce *Canada*; for if the *Indian* Nations can be perſuaded to join heartily, (as from what is above related it ſeems probable they may) it will be impoſſible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to defend themſelves from the Incurſions of theſe numerous *Indian* Nations, and from a Body of regular Troops at the ſame Time. As the *French* are very ſenſible of theſe Advantages to be gain'd from the Friendſhip of the *Indian* Nations, they neglect no Means in their Power to procure them: And it is to be hoped, that the Northern Colonies will be no leſs aſſiduous in a Matter on which their Well-being at leaſt depends.

Some People wiſh that the *Indians* may remain neuter, and think it adviſeable to purſue Meaſures for that Purpoſe, by which many horrid Barbarities would be prevented. No doubt this is to be wiſhed; but can the *Engliſh* Colonies by any Means be aſſured, that the *French* will be ſincere in preſerving ſuch a Neutrality? And if they be not ſincere, we ſhall more certainly expoſe ourſelves to all theſe Calamities, than we are now by *Indians* being engaged on both Sides. The *Six Nations* are by their natural Inclinations, diſpoſed to War-like Enterprizes:

prizes: They never have been at Peace with all their Neighbours, ſince they were known to Chriſtians. The Reputation they have gained among all the *Indian* Nations in North *America*, gives them an Influence in the Councils of every Nation. It may then be eaſy for the *French* to turn this Diſpoſition to War in the *Six Nations*, againſt us, and by their Influence draw all the *Indian* Nations in North *America* upon us. The Genius of the *Six Nations* will not ſuffer them to remain inactive, while their Neighbours are at War.

In the laſt Place, it may not be improper to obſerve at this Time, that though the Colonies to the Southward (and the Inhabitants of the Parts of the Northern Colonies, which are leſs expoſed to the Incurſions of *Indians*) think themſelves little concerned in Intereſt, or in the Conſequences of the preſent War; yet if they would conſider that the Northern Colonies are really their Frontiers, and that they defend the others from all the Calamities of a moſt barbarous War; the Southern Colonies muſt think that any Contribution of Men and Money, which is expected from them, is an eaſy Purchaſe of the Freedom from ſuch Calamities, to which their Brethren are ſubjected; and that while they can follow their Occupations at Eaſe, they are much better enabled to ſupport the Expence of a War than the Northern Colonies are, where the Inhabitants are every Day in Danger of their Lives from a cruel Enemy, while at their daily and innocent Labours. If the Southern Colonies neglect to keep the War at a Diſtance from them, they may at an improper Time, become ſenſible of the Evils their Brethren ſuffer, and of their own Folly at the ſame Time.

New-York, *Dec.* 2, 1746.

The Party of ſeventy *Indians* and Whites mentioned in this Treaty, did not go out together as

was at firſt intended, Sickneſs and other Incidents made it neceſſary to alter the Meaſures at firſt propoſed. One Party of thirty *Indians* and ten Whites went by themſelves. Theſe fell upon a *French* Settlement on the North-ſide of *St. Lawrence* River, about 10 Leagues above *Montreal*, and brought away eight *French* Priſoners, one of them a Captain of Militia, and four Scalps. Another Party of nine *Indians* went to the *Cahnuagas*, under Pretence of continuing the Neutrality with them, they were introduced to the Governor of *Montreal* under the ſame Pretence, who made them Preſents: Their Deſign was to gain what Intelligence they could, and after they had done this, they acted their Part ſo well, that they received ſeveral Letters, one from the Governor of *Montreal*, and others from conſiderable Perſons to the Commandant of Fort *St. Frederic* at *Crown Point*. In their Way thither, by which they were to return Home, they ſurprized ſome *French* in a ſmall Fort, killed five, and brought away one Priſoner and one Scalp. They brought the *French* Priſoner and the Letters to the commanding Officer at *Albany*, and informed him of what they had ſeen and heard at *Montreal*.

A

COLLECTION

OF

CHARTERS

AND OTHER PUBLICK ACTS,

RELATING TO THE

Province of *PENSYLVANIA*,

VIZ.

I. The ROYAL CHARTER to *WILLIAM PENN*, Esq;

II. The first FRAME of Government, granted in *England*, in 1682.

III. LAWS agreed upon in *England*.

IV. Certain CONDITIONS or CONCESSIONS.

V. The ACT of SETTLEMENT, made at *Chester*, 1682.

VI. The second FRAME of Government, granted 1683.

VII. The CHARTER of the CITY of *PHILADELPHIA*, granted *October* 25, 1701.

VIII. The New CHARTER of PRIVILEGES to the Province, granted *October* 28, 1701.

The CHARTER *of* CHARLES II. *of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, KING, *Defender of the Faith*, &c.

Unto WILLIAM PENN, *Proprietary and Governor of the Province of* Penſylvania.

CHARLES, by the Grace of GOD, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, *Greeting*. WHEREAS our truſty and well-beloved Subject *William Penn*, Eſq; Son and Heir of Sir *William Penn* deceaſed, (out of a commendable Deſire to enlarge our *Engliſh* Empire, and promote ſuch uſeful Commodities as may be of Benefit to us and our Dominions, as alſo to reduce the ſavage Natives by gentle and juſt Manners, to the love of civil Society and the Chriſtian Religion) hath humbly beſought Leave of us, to tranſport an ample Colony unto a certain Country herein after deſcribed, in the Parts of *America*, not yet cultivated and planted; and hath likewiſe ſo humbly beſought our Royal Majeſty to give, grant, and confirm all the ſaid Country, with certain Privileges and Juriſdictions, requiſite for the good Government and Safety of the ſaid Country and Colony, to him and his Heirs for ever.

SECT. I.

KNOW YE THEREFORE, That we (favouring the Petition and good Purpoſe of the

ſaid *William Penn*, and having Regard to the Memory and Merits of his late Father in divers Services, and particularly to his Conduct, Courage, and Diſcretion under our deareſt Brother *JAMES* Duke of *York*, in that ſignal Battle and Victory fought and obtained againſt the *Dutch* Fleet, commanded by the Heer *Van Opdam*, in the Year 1665: In Conſideration thereof, of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion) have given and granted, and by this our preſent Charter, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, all that Tract or Part of Land in *America*, with the Iſlands therein contained, as the ſame is bounded on the Eaſt by *Delawar* River, from twelve Miles Diſtance Northwards of *Newcaſtle* Town unto the three and fortieth Degree of Northern Latitude, if the ſaid River doth extend ſo far Northward: But if the ſaid River ſhall not extend ſo far Northward, then by the ſaid River ſo far as it doth extend, and from the Head of the ſaid River the Eaſtern Bounds are to be determined by a Meridian Line, to be drawn from the Head of the ſaid River, unto the ſaid forty-third Degree. The ſaid Land to extend Weſtward five Degrees in Longitude, to be computed from the ſaid Eaſtern Bounds; and the ſaid Lands to be bounded on the North by the Beginning of the three and fortieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a Circle drawn at twelve Miles Diſtance from *Newcaſtle* Northward, and Weſtward unto the Beginning of the fortieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a ſtrait Line Weſtwards to the Limits of Longitude abovementioned.

SECT. II.

WE do alſo give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, the free and undiſturbed Uſe and Continuance in, and Paſſage unto, and out of all and ſingular Ports, Harbours, Bays,

Waters,

Waters, Rivers, Iſles, and Inlets, belonging unto, or leading to and from the Country or Iſlands aforeſaid, and all the Soils, Lands, Fields, Woods, Underwoods, Mountains, Hills, Fenns, Iſles, Lakes, Rivers, Waters, Rivulets, Bays, and Inlets, ſituated or being within, or belonging to the Limits or Bounds aforeſaid, together with the Fiſhing of all Sorts of Fiſh, Whales, Sturgeon, and all royal and other Fiſhes, in the Seas, Bays, Inlets, Waters, or Rivers within the Premiſſes, and all the Fiſh therein taken; and alſo all Veins, Mines, Minerals, and Quarries, as well diſcovered as not diſcovered, of Gold, Silver, Gemms, and precious Stones, and all other whatſoever, be it Stones, Metals, or of any other Thing or Matter whatſoever, found or to be found within the Country, Iſles, or Limits aforeſaid.

SECT. III.

AND him, the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, we do by this our Royal Charter, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, make, create, and conſtitute, the true and abſolute Proprietary of the Country aforeſaid, and of all other the Premiſſes: Saving always to us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, the Faith and Allegiance of the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and of all other Proprietaries, Tenants, and Inhabitants, that are or ſhall be within the Territories and Precincts aforeſaid; and ſaving alſo, unto us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, the Sovereignty of the aforeſaid Country, to have, hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy the ſaid Tract of Land, Country, Iſles, Inlets, and other the Premiſſes, unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, to the only proper Uſe and Behoof of the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, for ever, to be holden of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, as of our Caſtle of *Windſor* in our County of *Berks*, in free and common Soccage, by Fealty only for all Services, and not in Capite or by Knights Service: Yield-

Yielding and paying therefore to us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, two Beaver-ſkins, to be delivered at our Caſtle of *Windſor* on the firſt Day of *January* in every Year; and alſo the fifth Part of all Gold and Silver Oar, which ſhall from Time to Time happen to be found within the Limits aforeſaid, clear of all Charges. And of our further Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, we have thought fit to erect, and we do hereby erect the aforeſaid Country and Iſlands into a Province and Seignorie, and do call it PENSYLVANIA, and ſo from henceforth will have it called.

SECT. IV.

AND foraſmuch as we have hereby made and ordained the aforeſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, the true and abſolute Proprietaries of all the Lands and Dominions aforeſaid, KNOW YE THEREFORE, That we (repoſing ſpecial Truſt and Confidence in the Fidelity, Wiſdom, Juſtice, and provident Circumſpection of the ſaid *William Penn*) for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant free, full, and abſolute Power (by Virtue of theſe Preſents) to him and his Heirs, to his and their Deputies, and Lieutenants for the good and happy Government of the ſaid Country, to ordain, make, and enact, and under his and their Seals to publiſh any Laws whatſoever, for the raiſing of Money for publick Uſes of the ſaid Province, or for any other End, appertaining either unto the publick State, Peace, or Safety of the ſaid Country, or unto the private Utility of particular Perſons, according unto their beſt Diſcretion, by and with the Advice, Aſſent, and Approbation of the Freemen of the ſaid Country, or the greater Part of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies, whom for the enacting of the ſaid Laws, when, and as often as Need ſhall require, we will that the ſaid *William Penn* and his Heirs, ſhall aſſemble in ſuch Sort

Sort and Form, as to him and them ſhall ſeem beſt, and the ſame Laws duly to execute, unto and upon all People within the ſaid Country and Limits thereof.

SECT. V.

AND we do likewiſe give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, and to his Heirs, and their Deputies and Lieutenants, full Power and Authority, to appoint and eſtabliſh any Judges and Juſtices, Magiſtrates and other Officers whatſoever, for what Cauſes ſoever, (for the Probates of Wills, and for the granting of Adminiſtrations within the Precincts aforeſaid) and with what Power ſoever, and in ſuch Form, as to the ſaid *William Penn* or his Heirs, ſhall ſeem moſt convenient: Alſo to remit, releaſe, pardon, and aboliſh (whether before Judgment or after) all Crimes and Offences whatſoever, committed within the ſaid Country, againſt the ſaid Laws, (Treaſon and wilful and malicious Murder only excepted, and in thoſe Caſes to grant Reprieves, until our Pleaſure may be known therein) and to do all and every other Thing and Things, which unto the compleat Eſtabliſhment of Juſtice unto Courts and Tribunals, Forms of Judicature, and Manner of Proceedings do belong, although in theſe Preſents expreſs Mention be not made thereof; and by Judges by them delegated, to award Proceſs, hold Pleas, and determine in all the ſaid Courts and Tribunals all Actions, Suits, and Cauſes whatſoever, as well criminal as civil, perſonal, real, and mixt; which Laws ſo, as aforeſaid, to be publiſhed, our Pleaſure is, and ſo we enjoin, require, and command, ſhall be moſt abſolute and available in Law; and that all the Liege People and Subjects of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do obſerve and keep the ſame inviolably in thoſe Parts, ſo far as they concern them, under the Pain therein expreſſed, or to be expreſſed. PRO-

VIDED

VIDED nevertheleſs, That the ſame Laws be conſonant to Reaſon, and not repugnant or contrary, but (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the Laws and Statutes, and Rights of this our Kingdom of *England*, and ſaving and reſerving to us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, the receiving, hearing, and determining of the Appeal and Appeals of all or any Perſon or Perſons, of, in, or belonging to the Territories aforeſaid, or touching any Judgment to be there made or given.

SECT. VI.

AND foraſmuch as in the Government of ſo great a Country, ſudden Accidents do often happen, whereunto it will be neceſſary to apply Remedy before the Freeholders of the ſaid Province, or their Delegates or Deputies can be aſſembled to the making of Laws; neither will it be convenient that inſtantly upon every ſuch emergent Occaſion, ſo great a Multitude ſhould be called together: Therefore (for the better Government of the ſaid Country) we will, and ordain, and by theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid *William Penn* and his Heirs, by themſelves, or by their Magiſtrates and Officers, in that Behalf duly to be ordained as aforeſaid, to make and conſtitute fit and wholeſome Ordinances, from Time to Time, within the ſaid Country to be kept and obſerved, as well for the Preſervation of the Peace, as for the better Government of the People there inhabiting; and publickly to notify the ſame to all Perſons, whom the ſame doth or may any Ways concern. Which Ordinances our Will and Pleaſure is, ſhall be obſerved inviolably within the ſaid Province, under the Pains therein to be expreſſed, ſo as the ſaid Ordinances be conſonant to Reaſon, and be not repugnant nor contrary, but (ſo far as conveniently may be) agreeable with the Laws of our Kingdom of *England*, and ſo as the ſaid Ordinances

be

be not extended in any Sort to bind, change, or take away the Right or Intereſt of any Perſon or Perſons, for or in their Life, Members, Freehold, Goods, or Chattles. And our farther Will and Pleaſure is, That the Laws for regulating and governing of Property within the ſaid Province, as well for the Deſcent and Enjoyment of Lands, as likewiſe for the Enjoyment and Succeſſion of Goods and Chattles, and likewiſe as to Felonies, ſhall be and continue the ſame, as they ſhall be for the Time being, by the general Courſe of the Law in our Kingdom of *England*, until the ſaid Laws ſhall be altered by the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, and by the Freemen of the ſaid Province, their Delegates or Deputies, or the greater Part of them.

SECT. VII.

AND to the End that the ſaid *William Penn*, or his Heirs, or other the Planters, Owners, or Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, may not at any Time hereafter (by Miſconſtruction of the Power aforeſaid) through Inadvertency or Deſign, depart from that Faith and due Allegiance, which by the Laws of this our Realm of *England*, they and all our Subjects, in our Dominions and Territories, always owe to us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by Colour of any Extent or Largeneſs of Powers hereby given, or pretended to be given, or by Force or Colour of any Laws hereafter to be made in the ſaid Province, by Virtue of any ſuch Powers; OUR farther Will and Pleaſure is, That a Tranſcript or Duplicate of all Laws, which ſhall be ſo as aforeſaid made and publiſhed within the ſaid Province, ſhall within five Years after the making thereof, be tranſmitted, and delivered to the Privy Council, for the Time being of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors: And if any of the ſaid Laws within the Space of ſix Months after that they ſhall be ſo tranſmitted and delivered,

be declared by us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, in our or their Privy Council, inconſiſtent with the Sovereignty, or lawful Prerogative of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or contrary to the Faith and Allegiance due to the legal Government of this Realm, from the ſaid *William Penn*, or his Heirs, or of the Planters and Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, and that thereupon any of the ſaid Laws ſhall be adjudged and declared to be void by us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, under our or their Privy Seal, that then and from thenceforth, ſuch Laws, concerning which ſuch Judgment and Declaration ſhall be made, ſhall become void: Otherwiſe the ſaid Laws ſo tranſmitted, ſhall remain, and ſtand in full Force, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof.

SECT. VIII.

FURTHERMORE, that this new Colony may the more happily increaſe, by the Multitude of People reſorting thither; Therefore we, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant by theſe Preſents, Power, Licence, and Liberty unto all the Liege People and Subjects, both preſent and future, of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, (excepting thoſe who ſhall be eſpecially forbidden) to tranſport themſelves and Families unto the ſaid Country, with ſuch convenient Shipping as by the Laws of this our Kingdom of *England* they ought to uſe, and with fitting Proviſion, paying only the Cuſtoms therefore due, and there to ſettle themſelves, dwell and inhabit, and plant, for the publick, and their own private Advantage.

SECT. IX.

AND FURTHERMORE, that our Subjects may be the rather encouraged to undertake this Expedition with ready and chearful Minds, KNOW YE, That we, of our ſpecial Grace, certain

tain Knowledge, and mere Motion, do give and grant by virtue of these Presents, as well unto the said *William Penn*, and his Heirs, as to all others, who shall from time to time repair unto the said Country, with a Purpose to inhabit or trade with the Natives of the said Country, full Licence to lade and freight in any Ports whatsoever, of us, our Heirs and Successors, according to the Laws made, or to be made within our Kingdom of *England*, and unto the said Country, by them, their Servants or Assigns, to transport all and singular their Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, as likewise all Sorts of Grain whatsoever, and all other Things whatsoever, necessary for Food or Clothing, not prohibited by the Laws and Statutes of our Kingdom and Dominions to be carried out of the said Kingdom, without any Let or Molestation of us, our Heirs or Successors, or of any of the Officers of us, our Heirs or Successors; saving always to us, our Heirs and Successors, the legal Impositions, Customs, or other Duties and Payments, for the said Wares and Merchandizes, by any Law or Statute due, or to be due to us, our Heirs and Successors.

SECT. X.

AND we do further, for us, our Heirs and Successors, give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, free and absolute Power, to divide the said Country and Islands into Towns, Hundreds and Counties, and to erect and incorporate Towns into Boroughs, and Boroughs into Cities, and to make and constitute Fairs and Markets therein, with all other convenient Privileges and Immunities, according to the Merits of the Inhabitants, and the Fitness of the Places, and to do all and every other Thing and Things touching the Premises, which to him or them shall seem meet and requisite; albeit they be such, as of their own Nature might otherwise require a more special

Commandment and Warrant, than in these Presents is expressed.

SECT. XI.

WE will also, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, we do give and grant Licence by this our Charter, unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, and to all the Inhabitants and Dwellers in the Province aforesaid, both present and to come, to import or unlade, by themselves or their Servants, Factors, or Assigns, all Merchandizes and Goods whatsoever, that shall arise of the Fruits and Commodities of the said Province, either by Land or Sea, into any of the Ports of us, our Heirs or Successors, in our Kingdom of *England*, and not into any other Country whatsover: And we give him full Power to dispose of the said Goods, in the said Ports; and if need be, within one Year next after the Unlading of the same, to lade the said Merchandize and Goods again into the same or other Ships, and to transport the same into any other Countries, either of our Dominions or foreign, according to Law; provided always, that they pay such Customs and Impositions, Subsidies and Duties for the same, to us, our Heirs and Successors, as the rest of our Subjects of our Kingdom of *England*, for the Time being, shall be bound to pay, and do observe the Acts of Navigation, and other Laws in that Behalf made.

SECT. XII.

AND FURTHERMORE, of our ample and special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, we do, for us, our Heirs and Successors, grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, full and absolute Power and Authority, to make, erect, and constitute, within the said Province, and the Isles and Inlets aforesaid, such and so many Sea-ports, Harbours, Creeks, Havens, Keys,

Keys, and other Places, for Discharging and Unlading of Goods and Merchandizes out of the Ships, Boats, and other Vessels, and landing them unto such and so many Places, and with such Rights, Jurisdictions, Liberties and Privileges unto the said Ports belonging, as to him and them shall seem most expedient; and that all and singular the Ships, Boats, and other Vessels, which shall come for Merchandize and Trade into the said Province, or out of the same, shall be laden or unladen only at such Ports as shall be created and constituted by the said *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, (any Use, Custom, or Thing to the contrary notwithstanding.) Provided, that the said *William Penn*, and his Heirs, and the Lieutenants and Governors for the Time being, shall admit and receive in, and about all such Havens, Ports, Creeks and Keys, all Officers and their Deputies, who shall from Time to Time be appointed for that Purpose by the Farmers or Commissioners of our Customs for the Time being.

SECT. XIII.

AND we do further appoint and ordain, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, we do grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, That he, the said *Willian Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, may from time to time for ever, have and enjoy the Customs and Subsidies, in the Ports, Harbours, and other Creeks and Places aforesaid, within the Province aforesaid, payable or due for Merchandize and Wares there to be laded and unladed, the said Customs and Subsidies to be reasonably assessed upon any Occasion, by themselves and the People there as aforesaid to be assembled, to whom we give Power by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, upon just Cause and due Proportion to assess and impose the same; saving unto us, our Heirs and Successors, such Impositions and Customs, as by Act of Parliament are and shall be appointed.

SECT. XIV.

AND it is our farther Will and Pleaſure, That the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, ſhall from Time to Time conſtitute and appoint an Attorney or Agent, to reſide in or near our City of *London*, who ſhall make known the Place where he ſhall dwell, or may be found, unto the Clerks of our Privy-Council for the Time being, or one of them, and ſhall be ready to appear in any of our Courts at *Weſtminſter*, to anſwer for any Miſdemeanor that ſhall be committed, or by any wilful Default or Neglect permitted by the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, againſt the Laws of Trade and Navigation; and after it ſhall be aſcertained in any of our ſaid Courts, what Damages we or our Heirs or Succeſſors ſhall have ſuſtained by ſuch Default or Neglect, the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, ſhall pay the ſame within one Year after ſuch Taxation, and Demand thereof, from ſuch Attorney; or in caſe there ſhall be no ſuch Attorney by the Space of one Year, or ſuch Attorney ſhall not make Payment of ſuch Damages within the Space of a Year, and anſwer ſuch other Forfeitures and Penalties within the ſaid Time, as by the Acts of Parliament in *England* are and ſhall be provided, according to the true Intent and Meaning of theſe Preſents; then it ſhall be lawful for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, to ſeize and reſume the Government of the ſaid Province or Country, and the ſame to retain until Payment ſhall be made thereof: But notwithſtanding any ſuch Seizure or Reſumption of the Government, nothing concerning the Propriety or Ownerſhip of any Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, or Goods or Chattles, of any of the Adventurers, Planters, or Owners, other than the reſpective Offenders there, ſhall any ways be affected or moleſted thereby.

SECT.

SECT. XV.

PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleaſure is, That neither the ſaid *William Penn*, nor his Heirs, or any other the Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, ſhall at any Time hereafter have or maintain any Correſpondence with any other King, Prince, or State, or with any of their Subjects, who ſhall then be in War againſt us, our Heirs and Succeſſors; nor ſhall the ſaid *William Penn*, or his Heirs, or any other Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, make War, or do any Act of Hoſtility againſt any other King, Prince, or State, or any of their Subjects, who ſhall then be in League or Amity with us, our Heirs and Succeſſors.

SECT. XVI.

AND, becauſe in ſo remote a Country, and ſituate near many barbarous Nations, the Incurſions as well of the Savages themſelves, as of other Enemies, Pirates and Robbers, may probably be feared; Therefore we have given, and for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give Power by theſe Preſents to the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, by themſelves or their Captains, or other their Officers, to levy, muſter and train all Sorts of Men, of what Condition ſoever, or whereſoever born, in the ſaid Province of *Penſilvania* for the Time being, and to make War, and to purſue the Enemies and Robbers aforeſaid, as well by Sea as by Land, even without the Limits of the ſaid Province, and by God's Aſſiſtance to vanquiſh and take them, and being taken to put them to Death by the Law of War, or to ſave them at their Pleaſure, and to do all and every other Thing which unto the Charge and Office of a Captain-General of an Army belongeth, or hath accuſtomed to belong, as fully and freely as any Captain-General of an Army hath ever had the ſame.

SECT. XVII.

AND FURTHERMORE, of our ſpecial Grace, and of our certain Knowledge and mere Motion, we have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, full and abſolute Power, Licence and Authority, that he, the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, from time to time hereafter for ever, at his or their own Will and Pleaſure may aſſign, alien, grant, demiſe, or enfeoff of the Premiſſes ſo many and ſuch Parts and Parcels to him that ſhall be willing to purchaſe the ſame, as they ſhall think fit, to have and to hold to them the ſaid Perſon and Perſons willing to take and purchaſe, their Heirs and Aſſigns, in Fee-ſimple or Fee-tail, or for the Term of Life, Lives or Years, to be held of the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, as of the ſaid Seigniory of *Windſor*, by ſuch Services, Cuſtoms or Rents, as ſhall ſeem meet to the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, and not immediately of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors.

SECT. XVIII.

AND to the ſame Perſon or Perſons, and to all and every of them, we do give and grant by theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, Licence, Authority and Power, that ſuch Perſon or Perſons may take the Premiſſes, or any Parcel thereof, of the aforeſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, and the ſame hold to themſelves, their Heirs and Aſſigns, in what Eſtate of Inheritance ſoever, in Fee-ſimple or in Fee-tail, or otherwiſe, as to him, the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs or Aſſigns, ſhall ſeem expedient: The Statute made in the Parliament of *EDWARD*, Son of King *HENRY*, late King of *England*, our Predeceſſor, (commonly called *The Statute* QUIA EMPTORES TERRARUM,

TERRARUM, lately publiſhed in our Kingdom of *England*) in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

SECT. XIX.

AND by theſe Preſents we give and grant Licence unto the ſaid *William Penn*, and his Heirs, and likewiſe to all and every ſuch Perſon or Perſons to whom the ſaid *William Penn*, or his Heirs, ſhall at any Time hereafter grant any Eſtate or Inheritance as aforeſaid, to erect any Parcels of Land within the Province aforeſaid into Manors, by and with the Licence to be firſt had and obtained for that Purpoſe, under the Hand and Seal of the ſaid *William Penn*, or his Heirs; and in every of the ſaid Manors to have and to hold a Court-Baron, with all things whatſoever which to a Court-Baron do belong, and to have and to hold View of Frank-Pledge for the Conſervation of the Peace, and the better Government of thoſe Parts, by themſelves or their Stewards, or by the Lords for the Time being of the Manors to be deputed when they ſhall be erected, and in the ſame to uſe all Things belonging to the View of Frank-Pledge. AND we do further grant Licence and Authority, That every ſuch Perſon or Perſons who ſhall erect any ſuch Manor or Manors, as aforeſaid, ſhall or may grant all or any Part of his ſaid Land to any Perſon or Perſons, in Fee-ſimple, or any other Eſtate of Inheritance to be held of the ſaid Manors reſpectively, ſo as no farther Tenure ſhall be created, but that upon all further or other Alienations thereafter to be made, the ſaid Lands ſo aliened ſhall be held of the ſame Lord and his Heirs, of whom the Aliener did then before hold, and by the like Rents and Services which were before due and accuſtomed.

SECT. XX.

AND FURTHER our Pleaſure is, and by theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors,

we do covenant and grant to and with the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, That we, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall at no Time hereafter ſet or make, or cauſe to be ſet or made, any Impoſition, Cuſtom, or other Taxation, Rate or Contribution whatſoever, in and upon the Dwellers and Inhabitants of the aforeſaid Province, for their Lands, Tenements, Goods or Chattles within the ſaid Province, or in and upon any Goods or Merchandizes within the Province, or to be laden or unladen within the Ports or Harbours of the ſaid Province, unleſs the ſame be with the Conſent of the Proprietary, or chief Governor, or Aſſembly, or by Act of Parliament in *England*.

SECT. XXI.

AND our Pleaſure is, and for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, we charge and command, That this our Declaration ſhall from henceforth from Time to Time be received and allowed in all our Courts, and before all the Judges of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, for a ſufficient lawful Diſcharge, Payment and Acquittance; commanding all the Officers and Miniſters of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, and enjoining them upon Pain of our higheſt Diſpleaſure, that they do not preſume at any Time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the Premiſſes, or that do in any ſort withſtand the ſame, but that they be at all Times aiding and aſſiſting, as is fitting to the ſaid *William Penn*, and his Heirs, and unto the Inhabitants and Merchants of the Province aforeſaid, their Servants, Miniſters, Factors, and Aſſigns, in the full Uſe and Fruition of the Benefit of this our Charter.

SECT. XXII.

AND our farther Pleaſure is, and we do hereby, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, charge and require, That if any of the Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, to the Number of Twenty, ſhall at any Time hereafter be deſirous, and ſhall by any Writing,

ing, or by any Perſon deputed by them, ſignify ſuch their Deſire to the Biſhop of *London* for the Time being, That any Preacher or Preachers, to be approved of by the ſaid Biſhop, may be ſent unto them for their Inſtruction; That then ſuch Preacher or Preachers ſhall and may reſide within the ſaid Province, without any Denial or Moleſtation whatſoever.

SECT. XXIII.

AND if perchance hereafter any Doubt or Queſtion ſhould ariſe, concerning the true Senſe and Meaning of any Word, Clauſe, or Sentence contained in this our preſent Charter, we will, ordain, and command, That at all Times, and in all Things, ſuch Interpretation be made thereof, and allowed in any of our Courts whatſoever, as ſhall be adjudged moſt advantageous and favourable unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Aſſigns: Provided always no Interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the Allegiance due unto us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, may ſuffer any Prejudice or Diminution; although expreſs Mention be not made in theſe Preſents of the true yearly Value, or Certainty of the Premiſſes, or any Part thereof, or of other Gifts and Grants made by us and our Progenitors or Predeceſſors unto the ſaid *William Penn*: Any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviſion, Proclamation, or Reſtraint heretofore had, made, publiſhed, ordained, or provided, or any other Thing, Cauſe or Matter whatſoever, to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding. IN WITNESS whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patent: Witneſs OUR SELF, at *Weſtminſter*, the *Fourth* Day of *March*, in the *three and thirtieth* Year of our Reign. *Annoque Domini One Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty-one.*

By Writ of Privy Seal,

PIGOTT.

The FRAME of the Government of the Province of *Pensilvania* in *America*: Together with certain LAWS agreed upon in *England*. By the Governor and divers Freemen of the aforesaid Province. To be further explained and continued there, by the first Provincial Council that shall be held, if they see meet.

The PREFACE.

WHEN the great and wise GOD had made the World, of all his Creatures it pleased him to chuse Man his Deputy to rule it; and to fit him for so great a Charge and Trust, he did not only qualify him with Skill and Power, but with Integrity to use them justly. This native Goodness was equally his Honour and his Happiness; and whilst he stood here, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive Means; the Precept of divine Love and Truth in his Bosom was the Guide and Keeper of his Innocency. But Lust prevailing against Duty, made a lamentable Breach upon it; and the Law, that had before no Power over him, took place upon him and his disobedient Posterity, that such as would not live conformable to the holy Law within, should fall under the Reproof and Correction of the just Law without, in a judicial Administration.

THIS the Apostle teaches in divers of his Epistles: The Law *(says he)* was added because of Transgression: *In another Place*, Knowing that the Law was not made for the righteous Man; but for the disobedient and ungodly, for Sinners, for unholy and prophane, for Murderers, for Whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with Mankind, and for Men-stealers, for Liars, for perjured Persons, *&c. But this is not all, he opens and carries the Matter of Government a little further:* Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; for there is

no Power but of GOD. The Powers that be are ordained of GOD: Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of GOD. For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to evil: Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have Praiſe of the ſame.—He is the Miniſter of GOD to thee for good.—Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake.

THIS ſettles the divine Right of Government beyond Exception, and that for two Ends: Firſt to terrify evil Doers; Secondly to cheriſh thoſe that do well; which gives Government a Life beyond Corruption, and makes it as durable in the Word, as good Men ſhall be. So that Government ſeems to me a Part of Religion itſelf, a Thing ſacred in its Inſtitution and End. For if it does not directly remove the Cauſe, it cruſhes the Effects of Evil, and is as ſuch (though a lower yet) an Emanation of the ſame divine Power, that is both Author and Object of pure Religion; the Difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulſive in its Operations: But that is only to evil Doers; Government itſelf being otherwiſe as capable of Kindneſs, Goodneſs, and Charity, as a more private Society. They weakly err, that think there is no other Uſe of Government than Correction, which is the coarſeſt Part of it: Daily Experience tells us, that the Care and Regulation of many other Affairs, more ſoft and daily neceſſary, make up much the greateſt Part of Government; and which muſt have followed the Peopling of the World, had Adam *never fell, and will continue among Men on Earth under the higheſt Attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the bleſſed* Second Adam, *the LORD from Heaven. Thus much of Government in general, as to its Riſe and End.*

FOR particular Frames *and* Models, *it will become me to ſay little; and comparatively I will ſay nothing.*

nothing. My Reasons are: First, *That the Age is too nice and difficult for it; there being nothing the Wits of Men are more busy and divided upon. 'Tis true, they seem to agree in the End,* to wit, *Happiness; but in the Means they differ, as to divine, so to this human Felicity; and the Cause is much the same, not always Want of Light and Knowledge, but Want of Using them rightly. Men side with their Passions against their Reason, and their sinister Interests have so strong a Bias upon their Minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.*

Secondly, *I do not find a Model in the World, that Time, Place, and some singular Emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil Government, that shall serve all Places alike.*

Thirdly, *I know what is said by the several Admirers of* Monarchy, Aristocracy, *and* Democracy, *which are the Rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common Ideas of Government, when Men discourse on that Subject. But I chuse to solve the Controversy with this small Distinction, and it belongs to all three:* Any Government is free to the People under it *(whatever be the Frame)* where the Laws rule, and the People are a Party to those Laws; *and more than this is Tyranny, Oligarchy, or Confusion.*

BUT Lastly, *when all is said, there is hardly one Frame of Government in the World so ill designed by its first Founders, that in good Hands would not do well enough; and Story tells us, the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great or good; Witness the* Jewish *and* Roman *States. Governments, like Clocks, go from the Motion Men give them; and as Governments are made and moved by Men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore Governments rather depend upon Men, than Men upon Governments. Let Men be good, and the Government can't be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if Men be bad, let the Govern-*

Government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their Turn.

I know some say, Let us have good Laws, and no matter for the Men that execute them: But let them consider, That though good Laws do well, good Men do better: For good Laws may want good Men, and be abolished or evaded by ill Men; but good Men will never want good Laws, nor suffer ill ones. 'Tis true, good Laws have some awe upon ill Ministers, but that is where they have no Power to escape or abolish them, and the People are generally wise and good: But a loose and depraved People (which is to the Question) love Laws and an Administration like themselves. That therefore which makes a good Constitution, must keep it, viz. *Men of Wisdom and Virtue, Qualities, that because they descend not with worldly Inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous Education of Youth; for which After-Ages will owe more to the Care and Prudence of Founders and the successive Magistracy, than to their Parents for their private Patrimonies.*

THESE Considerations of the Weight of Government, and the nice and various Opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing Frame and conditional Laws, foreseeing, both the Censures they will meet with from Men of differing Humours and Engagements, and the Occasion they may give of Discourse beyond my Design.

BUT next to the Power of Necessity, (which is a Solicitor that will take no Denial) this induced me to a Compliance, that we have (with Reverence to GOD and good Conscience to Men) to the best of our Skill, contrived and composed the FRAME and LAWS of this Government, *to the great End of all Government,* viz. To support Power in Reverence with the People, and to secure the People from the Abuse of Power; *that they may be free by their just Obedience, and the Magistrates honourable for their just Administration: For Liberty without Obedience is*

Confusion,

Confuſion, and Obedience without Liberty is Slavery. To carry this Evenneſs is partly owing to the Conſtitution, and partly to the Magiſtracy: Where either of theſe fail, Government will be ſubject to Convulſions; but where both are wanting, it muſt be totally ſubverted: Then where both meet, the Government is like to endure. Which I humbly pray, and hope GOD will pleaſe to make the Lot of this of Penſilvania. *Amen.*

WILLIAM PENN.

The FRAME, *&c.*

TO ALL PEOPLE, To whom theſe Preſents ſhall come. WHEREAS King *CHARLES the Second*, by his Letters Patents, under the great Seal of *England*, for the Conſideration therein mentioned, hath been graciouſly pleaſed to give and grant unto me *William Penn* (by the Name of *William Penn*, Eſq; Son and Heir of Sir *William Penn* deceaſed) and to my Heirs and Aſſigns for ever, all that Tract of Land, or Province called *Penſilvania*, in *America*, with divers great Powers, Preheminences, Royalties, Juriſdictions, and Authorities, neceſſary for the Well-being and Government thereof: NOW KNOW YE, That for the Well-being and Government of the ſaid Province, and for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters that may be therein concerned, in Purſuance of the Powers afore-mentioned, I the ſaid *William Penn* have declared, granted and confirmed, and by theſe Preſents, for me, my Heirs and Aſſigns, do declare, grant and confirm unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, of, in and to the ſaid Province, theſe Liberties, Franchiſes, and Properties, to be held, enjoyed and kept by the Freemen, Planters and Inhabitants of the ſaid Province of *Penſilvania* for ever.

IMPRIMIS.

IMPRIMIS.

THAT the Government of this Province ſhall, according the Powers of the Patent, conſiſt of the Governor and Freemen of the ſaid Province, in Form of a Provincial Council and General Aſſembly, by whom all Laws ſhall be made, Officers choſen, and publick Affairs tranſacted, as is hereafter reſpectively declared. *That is to ſay,*

II.

THAT the Freemen of the ſaid Province ſhall on the twentieth Day of the twelfth Month, which ſhall be in this preſent Year *One Thouſand Six Hundred Eighty and Two*, meet and aſſemble in ſome fit Place, of which timely Notice ſhall be beforehand given by the Governor or his Deputy, and then and there ſhall chuſe out of themſelves SEVENTY-TWO Perſons of moſt Note for their Wiſdom, Virtue and Ability, who ſhall meet on the tenth Day of the firſt Month next enſuing, and always be called and act as the provincial Council of the ſaid Province.

III.

THAT at the firſt Choice of ſuch provincial Council, one third part of the ſaid provincial Council ſhall be choſen to ſerve for three Years then next enſuing, one third part for two Years then next enſuing, and one third part for one Year then next following ſuch Election, and no longer; and that the ſaid third part ſhall go out accordingly: And on the twentieth Day of the twelfth Month as aforeſaid, yearly for ever afterward, the Freemen of the ſaid Province ſhall in like Manner meet and aſſemble together, and then chuſe TWENTY-FOUR Perſons, being one third of the ſaid Number, to ſerve in provincial Council for three Years: It being intended, that one third part of the whole provincial Council (always conſiſting, and to conſiſt of

of seventy-two Persons, as aforesaid) falling off yearly, it shall be yearly supplied by such new yearly Elections, as aforesaid; and that no one Person shall continue therein longer than three Years: And in case any Member shall decease before the last Election during his Time, that then at the next Election ensuing his Decease, another shall be chosen to supply his Place for the remaining Time he was to have served, and no longer.

IV.

THAT after the first seven Years, every one of the said third parts that goeth yearly off, shall be uncapable of being chosen again for one whole Year following: That so all may be fitted for Government, and have Experience of the Care and Burden of it.

V.

THAT the provincial Council in all Cases and Matters of Moment, as their arguing upon Bills to be past into Laws, erecting Courts of Justice, giving Judgment upon Criminals impeached, and Choice of Officers, in such Manner as is herein aftermentioned; not less than two-thirds of the whole provincial Council shall make a *Quorum*; and that the Consent not Approbation of two-thirds of such *Quorum* shall be had in all such Cases and Matters of Moment. And moreover, that in all Cases and Matters of lesser Moment, twenty-four Members of the said provincial Council shall make a *Quorum*, the Majority of which twenty-four shall and may always determine in such Cases and Causes of lesser Moment.

VI.

THAT in this provincial Council the Governor, or his Deputy, shall or may always preside, and have a treble Voice; and the said provincial Council shall always continue, and sit upon its own Adjournments and Committees.

VII.

VII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall prepare and propoſe to the general Aſſembly hereafter mentioned, all Bills, which they ſhall at any Time think fit to be paſſed into Laws within the ſaid Province; which Bills ſhall be publiſhed and affixed to the moſt noted Places in the inhabited Parts thereof, thirty Days before the Meeting of the general Aſſembly, in order to the paſſing them into Laws, or rejecting of them, as the general Aſſembly ſhall ſee meet.

VIII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall take care, that all Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, which ſhall at any Time be made within the ſaid Province, be duly and diligently executed.

IX.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall at all Times have the Care of the Peace and Safety of the Province, and that nothing be by any Perſon attempted to the Subverſion of this Frame of Government.

X.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall at all Times ſettle and order the Situation of all Cities, Ports, and Market-Towns in every County, modelling therein all publick Buildings, Streets, and Market-Places, and ſhall appoint all neceſſary Roads and Highways in the Province.

XI.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall at all Times have Power to inſpect the Management of the publick Treaſury, and puniſh thoſe who ſhall convert any Part thereof to any other

Uſe, than what hath been agreed upon by the Governor, provincial Council, and general Aſſembly.

XII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall erect and order all publick Schools, and encourage and reward the Authors of uſeful Sciences and laudable Inventions in the ſaid Province.

XIII.

THAT for the better Management of the Powers and Truſt aforeſaid, the provincial Council ſhall from time to time divide itſelf into four diſtinct and proper Committees, for the more eaſy Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Province, which divides the Seventy-two into four Eighteens, every one of which Eighteens ſhall conſiſt of ſix out of each of the three Orders or yearly Elections, each of which ſhall have a diſtinct Portion of Buſineſs, as followeth: *Firſt*, a Committee of Plantations, to ſituate and ſettle Cities, Ports, and Market-Towns, and Highways, and to hear and decide all Suits and Controverſies relating to Plantations. *Secondly*, a Committee of Juſtice and Safety, to ſecure the Peace of the Province, and puniſh the Male-Adminiſtration of thoſe who ſubvert Juſtice to the Prejudice of the publick or private Intereſt. *Thirdly*, a Committee of Trade and Treaſury, who ſhall regulate all Trade and Commerce according to Law, encourage Manufacture and Country-Growth, and defray the publick Charge of the Province. And *Fourthly*, a Committee of Manners, Education, and Arts, that all wicked and ſcandalous Living may be prevented, and that Youth may be ſucceſſively trained up in Virtue and uſeful Knowledge and Arts: The *Quorum* of each of which Committees being ſix, *that is*, two out of each of the three Orders or yearly Elections, as aforeſaid, make a conſtant and ſtanding Council of TWENTY-FOUR, which

which will have the Power of the provincial Council, being the *Quorum* of it, in all Cases not excepted in the fifth Article; and in the said Committees and standing Council of the Province, the Governor or his Deputy shall or may preside, as aforesaid; and in the Absence of the Governor or his Deputy, if no one is by either of them appointed, the said Committees or Council shall appoint a President for that Time, and not otherwise; and what shall be resolved at such Committees, shall be reported to the said Council of the Province, and shall be by them resolved and confirmed before the same shall be put in Execution; and that these respective Committees shall not sit at one and the same Time, except in Cases of Necessity.

XIV.

AND, to the End that all Laws prepared by the Governor and provincial Council aforesaid, may yet have the more full Concurrence of the Freemen of the Province, it is declared, granted, and confirmed, That at the Time and Place or Places for the Choice of a provincial Council as aforesaid, the said Freemen shall yearly chuse Members to serve in a general Assembly as their Representatives, not exceeding two hundred Persons, who shall yearly meet from the twentieth Day of the second Month, which shall be in the Year *One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Three* following, in the capital Town or City of the said Province, where during eight Days the several Members may freely confer with one another; and, if any of them see meet, with a Committee of the provincial Council (consisting of three out of each of the four Committees aforesaid, being twelve in all) which shall be at that Time, purposely appointed to receive from any of them Proposals for the Alterations or Amendment of any of the said proposed and promulgated Bills: And on the ninth Day from their so meeting, the

ſaid general Aſſembly, after Reading over the propoſed Bills by the Clerk of the provincial Council, and the Occaſions and Motives for them being opened by the Governor or his Deputy, ſhall give their Affirmative or Negative, which to them ſeemeth beſt, in ſuch Manner as herein after is expreſs'd. But not leſs than two-thirds ſhall make a *Quorum* in the Paſſing of Laws, and Choice of ſuch Officers as are by them to be choſen.

XV.

THAT the Laws ſo prepared and propoſed as aforeſaid, that are aſſented to by the general Aſſembly, ſhall be enrolled as Laws of the Province, with this Stile: *By the Governor, with the Aſſent and Approbation of the Freemen in provincial Council and general Aſſembly.*

XVI.

THAT, for the better Eſtabliſhment of the Government and Laws of this Province, and to the End there may be an univerſal Satisfaction in the Laying of the Fundamentals thereof; the general Aſſembly ſhall, or may for the firſt Year, conſiſt of all the Freemen of and in the ſaid Province, and ever after it ſhall be yearly choſen as aforeſaid; which Number of two hundred ſhall be enlarged as the Country ſhall encreaſe in People, ſo as it do not exceed five hundred at any Time: The Appointment and Proportioning of which, as alſo the Laying and Methodizing of the Choice of the provincial Council and general Aſſembly in future Times, moſt equally to the Diviſions of the Hundreds and Counties, which the Country ſhall hereafter be divided into, ſhall be in the Power of the provincial Council to propoſe, and the general Aſſembly to reſolve.

XVII.

THAT the Governor and the provincial Council ſhall erect from time to time ſtanding Courts of Juſtice,

Juſtice, in ſuch Places and Number as they ſhall judge convenient for the good Government of the ſaid Province. And that the provincial Council ſhall on the thirteenth Day of the firſt Month yearly, elect and preſent to the Governor or his Deputy, a double Number of Perſons, to ſerve for Judges, Treaſurers, Maſters of Rolls, within the ſaid Province for the Year next enſuing; and the Freemen of the ſaid Province in the County-Courts, when they ſhall be erected, and till then in the general Aſſembly, ſhall on the three and twentieth Day of the ſecond Month yearly, elect and preſent to the Governor or his Deputy, a double Number of Perſons to ſerve for Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, and Coroners, for the Year next enſuing; out of which reſpective Elections and Preſentments, the Governor or his Deputy ſhall nominate and commiſſionate the proper Number for each Office the third Day after the ſaid Preſentments; or elſe the firſt named in ſuch Preſentment for each Office, ſhall ſtand and ſerve for that Office the Year enſuing.

XVIII.

BUT foraſmuch as the preſent Condition of the Province requires ſome immediate Settlement, and admits not of ſo quick a Revolution of Officers; and to the End the ſaid Province may, with all convenient Speed, be well ordered and ſettled, I *William Penn* do therefore think fit to nominate and appoint ſuch Perſons for Judges, Treaſurers, Maſters of the Rolls, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, and Coroners, as are moſt fitly qualified for thoſe Employments; to whom I ſhall make and grant Commiſſions for the ſaid Officers, reſpectively, to hold to them to whom the ſame ſhall be granted, for ſo long Time as every ſuch Perſon ſhall well behave himſelf in the Office or Place to him reſpectively granted, and no longer. And upon the Deceaſe or Diſplacing of any of the ſaid Officers,

the ſucceeding Officer or Officers ſhall be choſen as aforeſaid.

XIX.

THAT the general Aſſembly ſhall continue ſo long as may be needful to impeach Criminals fit to be there impeached, to paſs Bills into Laws that they ſhall think fit to paſs into Laws, and till ſuch Time as the Governor and provincial Council ſhall declare that they have nothing further to propoſe unto them for their Aſſent and Approbation: And that Declaration ſhall be a Diſmiſs to the general Aſſembly for that time; which general Aſſembly ſhall be notwithſtanding capable of aſſembling together upon the Summons of the provincial Council, at any Time during that Year, if the ſaid provincial Council ſhall ſee Occaſion for their ſo aſſembling.

XX.

THAT all the Elections of Members or Repreſentatives of the People to ſerve in provincial Council and general Aſſembly, and all Queſtions to be determined by both or either of them, that relate to paſſing of Bills into Laws, to the Choice of Officers, to Impeachments made by the general Aſſembly, and Judgment of Criminals upon ſuch Impeachments by the provincial Council, and to all other Caſes by them reſpectively judged of Importance, ſhall be reſolved and determined by the Ballot; and unleſs on ſudden and indiſpenſible Occaſions, no Buſineſs in provincial Council, or its reſpective Committees, ſhall be finally determined the ſame Day that it is moved.

XXI.

THAT at all times, when, and ſo often as it ſhall happen that the Governor ſhall or may be an Infant under the Age of one and twenty Years, and no Guardians or Commiſſioners are appointed in Writing by the Father of the ſaid Infant, or that ſuch

such Guardians or Commissioners shall be deceased; that during such Minority, the provincial Council shall from Time to Time, as they shall see meet, constitute and appoint Guardians or Commissioners, not exceeding three; one of which three shall preside as Deputy and chief Guardian, during such Minority, and shall have, and execute, with the Consent of the other two, all the Power of a Governor, in all the publick Affairs and Concerns of the said Province.

XXII.

THAT as often as any Day of the Month mentioned in any Article of this Charter, shall fall upon the first Day of the Week, commonly called *the Lord's Day*, the Business appointed for that Day shall be deferred till the next Day, unless in case of Emergency.

XXIII.

THAT no Act, Law, or Ordinance whatsoever, shall at any time hereafter be made or done by the Governor of this Province, his Heirs or Assigns, or by the Freemen in the provincial Council, or the general Assembly, to alter, change or diminish the Form or Effect of this Charter, or any Part or Clause thereof, or contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, without the Consent of the Governor, his Heirs or Assigns, and six Parts of seven of the said Freemen in provincial Council and general Assembly.

XXIV.

AND LASTLY, That I the said *William Penn*, for myself, my Heirs and Assigns, have solemnly declared, granted, and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant, and confirm, That neither I, my Heirs nor Assigns, shall procure or do any Thing or Things, whereby the Liberties in this

Charter contained and expreſſed ſhall be infringed or broken; and if any Thing be procured by any Perſon or Perſons contrary to theſe Premiſſes, it ſhall be held of no Force or Effect. IN WITNESS whereof, I the ſaid *William Penn* have unto this preſent Charter of Liberties ſet my Hand and broad Seal, this *five and twentieth* Day of the ſecond Month, vulgarly called *April*, in the Year of our LORD *One Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty-two.*

WILLIAM PENN.

LAWS *agreed upon in* England, *&c.*

I.

THAT the Charter of Liberties, declared, granted, and confirmed the *five and twentieth* Day of the ſecond Month, called *April*, 1682, before divers Witneſſes, by *William Penn*, Governor and chief Proprietor of *Penſilvania*, to all the Freemen and Planters of the ſaid Province; is hereby declared and approved, and ſhall be for ever held for Fundamental in the Government thereof, according to the Limitations mentioned in the ſaid Charter.

II.

THAT every Inhabitant in the ſaid Province, that is or ſhall be a Purchaſer of one hundred Acres of Land, or upwards, his Heirs and Aſſigns, and every Perſon who ſhall have paid his Paſſage, and taken up one hundred Acres of Land at one Penny an Acre, and have cultivated ten Acres thereof; and every Perſon that hath been a Servant or Bondsman, and is free by his Service, that ſhall have taken up his fifty Acres of Land, and cultivated twenty thereof; and every Inhabitant, Artificer, or other Reſident in the ſaid Province, that pays Scot and Lot to the Government, ſhall be deemed and ac-

accounted a Freeman of the ſaid Province: And every ſuch Perſon ſhall and may be capable of electing, or being elected Repreſentatives of the People in provincial Council or general Aſſembly in the ſaid Province.

III.

THAT all Elections of Members, or Repreſentatives of the People and Freemen of the Province of *Penſilvania*, to ſerve in provincial Council or general Aſſembly to be held within the ſaid Province, ſhall be free and voluntary: And that the Elector, that ſhall receive any Reward or Gift, in Meat, Drink, Monies, or otherwiſe, ſhall forfeit his Right to elect; and ſuch Perſon as ſhall directly or indirectly give, promiſe, or beſtow any ſuch Reward as aforeſaid, to be elected, ſhall forfeit his Election, and be thereby incapable to ſerve as aforeſaid: And the provincial Council and general Aſſembly ſhall be the ſole Judges of the Regularity or Irregularity of the Elections of their own reſpective Members.

IV.

THAT no Money or Goods ſhall be raiſed upon, or paid by any of the People of this Province by way of publick Tax, Cuſtom, or Contribution, but by a Law for that Purpoſe made; and whoſoever ſhall levy, collect, or pay any Money or Goods contrary thereunto, ſhall be held a publick Enemy to the Province, and a Betrayer of the Liberties of the People thereof.

V.

THAT all Courts ſhall be open, and Juſtice ſhall neither be ſold, denied, nor delayed.

VI.

THAT in all Courts, all Perſons of all Perſuaſions may freely appear in their own Way, and according to their own Manner, and there perſonally

plead their own Cauſe themſelves; or if unable, by their Friend: And the firſt Proceſs ſhall be the Exhibition of the Complaint in Court, fourteen Days before the Trial; and that the Party complained againſt may be fitted for the ſame, he or ſhe ſhall be ſummoned, no leſs than ten Days before, and a Copy of the Complaint delivered him or her, at his or her Dwelling-houſe. But before the Complaint of any Perſon be received, he ſhall ſolemnly declare in Court, That he believes in his Conſcience his Cauſe is juſt.

VII.

THAT all Pleadings, Proceſſes, and Records in Court ſhall be ſhort, and in *Engliſh*, and in an ordinary and plain Character, that they may be underſtood, and Juſtice ſpeedily adminiſtred.

VIII.

THAT all Trials ſhall be by twelve Men, and as near as may be, Peers or Equals, and of the Neighbourhood, and Men without juſt Exception in Caſes of Life, there ſhall be firſt twenty-four returned by the Sheriffs for a Grand Inqueſt, of whom twelve at leaſt ſhall find the Complaint to be true; and then the twelve Men, or Peers, to be likewiſe returned by the Sheriff, ſhall have the final Judgment. But reaſonable Challenges ſhall be always admitted againſt the ſaid twelve Men, or any of them.

IX.

THAT all Fees in all Caſes ſhall be moderate, and ſettled by the provincial Council and general Aſſembly, and be hung up in a Table in every reſpective Court; and whoſoever ſhall be convicted of taking more, ſhall pay two-fold, and be diſmiſſed his Employment, one Moiety of which ſhall go to the Party wronged.

X.

X.

THAT all Prisons shall be Work-houses for Felons, Vagrants, and loose and idle Persons; whereof one shall be in every County.

XI.

THAT all Prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient Sureties, unless for capital Offences, where the Proof is evident, or the Presumption great.

XII.

THAT all Persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted at Law, shall have double Damages against the Informer or Prosecutor.

XIII.

THAT all Prisons shall be free as to Fees, Food, and Lodging.

XIV.

THAT all Lands and Goods shall be liable to pay Debts, except where there is legal Issue, and then all the Goods, and one third of the Land only.

XV.

THAT all Wills in Writing attested by two Witnesses, shall be of the same Force, as to Lands, as other Conveyances, being legally proved within forty Days, either within or without the said Province.

XVI.

THAT seven Years quiet Possession shall give an unquestionable Right, except in Cases of Infants, Lunaticks, married Women, or Persons beyond the Seas.

XVII.

THAT all Briberies and Extortions whatsoever, shall be severely punished.

XVIII.

XVIII.

THAT all Fines ſhall be moderate, and ſaving Mens Contenements, Merchandize, or Wainage.

XIX.

THAT all Marriages (not forbidden by the Law of God, as to Nearneſs of Blood and Affinity by Marriage) ſhall be encouraged; but the Parents or Guardians ſhall be firſt conſulted, and the Marriage ſhall be publiſhed before it be ſolemnized; and it ſhall be ſolemnized by taking one another as Huſband and Wife, before credible Witneſſes, and a Certificate of the whole, under the Hands of Parties and Witneſſes, ſhall be brought to the proper Regiſter of that County, and ſhall be regiſtred in his Office.

XX.

AND to prevent Frauds and vexatious Suits within the ſaid Province, that all Charters, Gifts, Grants, and Conveyances of Land, (except Leaſes for a Year or under) and all Bills, Bonds, and Specialties above *five Pounds*, and not under three Months, made in the ſaid Province, ſhall be enrolled or regiſtred in the publick Enrolment-Office of the ſaid Province, within the Space of two Months next after the Making thereof, elſe to be void in Law. And all Deeds, Grants, and Conveyances of Land (except as aforeſaid) within the ſaid Province, and made out of the ſaid Province, ſhall be enrolled or regiſtred as aforeſaid, within ſix Months next after the Making thereof, and ſettling and conſtituting an Enrolment-Office or Regiſtry within the ſaid Province, elſe to be void in Law againſt all Perſons whatſoever.

XXI.

THAT all Defacers or Corrupters of Charters, Gifts, Grants, Bonds, Bills, Wills, Contracts, and Conveyances, or that ſhall deface or falſify any Enrolment, Regiſtry or Record within this Province, ſhall

ſhall make double Satisfaction for the ſame; half whereof ſhall go to the Party wronged, and they ſhall be diſmiſſed of all Places of Truſt, and be publickly diſgraced as falſe Men.

XXII.

THAT there ſhall be a Regiſter for Births, Marriages, Burials, Wills, and Letters of Adminiſtration, diſtinct from the other Regiſtry.

XXIII.

THAT there ſhall be a Regiſter for all Servants, where their Names, Time, Wages, and Days of Payment ſhall be regiſtred.

XXIV.

THAT all Lands and Goods of Felons ſhall be liable to make Satisfaction to the Party wronged twice the Value; and for Want of Lands or Goods, the Felons ſhall be Bondmen to work in the common Priſon or Work-houſe, or otherwiſe, till the Party injured be ſatisfied.

XXV.

THAT the Eſtates of capital Offenders, as Traitors and Murderers, ſhall go one third to the next of kin to the Sufferer, and the Remainder to the next of kin to the Criminial.

XXVI.

THAT all Witneſſes, coming or called to teſtify their Knowledge in or to any Matter or Thing in any Court, or before any lawful Authority within the ſaid Province, ſhall there give or deliver in their Evidence or Teſtimony by ſolemnly promiſing to ſpeak the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, to the Matter or Thing in Queſtion. And in caſe any Perſon ſo called to Evidence, ſhall be convicted of wilful Falſhood, ſuch Perſon ſhall ſuffer and undergo ſuch Damage or Penalty, as the Perſon or Perſons againſt whom he or ſhe bore falſe Witneſs, did or ſhould undergo; and ſhall alſo make Satisfaction to the Party wronged,

wronged, and be publickly expoſed as a falſe Witneſs, never to be credited in any Court, or before any Magiſtrate in the ſaid Province.

XXVII.

AND to the end that all Officers choſen to ſerve within this Province, may with more Care and Diligence anſwer the Truſt repoſed in them, it is agreed, That no ſuch Perſon ſhall enjoy more than one publick Office at one Time.

XXVIII.

THAT all Children within this Province of the Age of twelve Years, ſhall be taught ſome uſeful Trade or Skill, to the end none may be idle, but the Poor may work to live, and the Rich, if they become poor, may not want.

XXIX.

THAT Servants be not kept longer than their Time, and ſuch as are careful, be both juſtly and kindly uſed in their Service, and put in fitting Equipage at the Expiration thereof, according to Cuſtom.

XXX.

THAT all ſcandalous and malicious Reporters, Backbiters, Defamers, and Spreaders of falſe News, whether againſt Magiſtrates or private Perſons, ſhall be accordingly ſeverely puniſhed, as Enemies to the Peace and Concord of this Province.

XXXI.

THAT for the Encouragement of the Planters and Traders in this Province, who are incorporated into a Society, the Patent granted to them by *William Penn*, Governor of the ſaid Province, is hereby ratified and confirmed.

XXXII.

XXXII.

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XXXVI.

THAT according to the good Example of the primitive Christians, and the Ease of the Creation, every *first* Day of the Week, called the Lord's Day, People shall abstain from their common daily Labour, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God according to their Understandings.

XXXVII.

THAT as a careless and corrupt Administration of Justice draws the Wrath of God upon Magistrates, so the Wildness and Looseness of the People provoke the Indignation of God against a Country: Therefore, That all such Offences against God, as Swearing, Cursing, Lying, prophane Talking, Drunkenness, Drinking of Healths, obscene Words, Incest, Sodomy, Rapes, Whoredom, Fornication, and other Uncleanness (not to be repeated) all Treasons, Misprisions, Murders, Duels, Felony, Sedition, Maims, forcible Entries, and other Violences, to the Persons and Estates of the Inhabitants within this Province. All Prizes, Stage-plays, Cards, Dice, Maygames, Gamesters, Masques, Revels, Bull-baitings, Cock-fightings, Bear-baitings, and the like, which excite the People to Rudeness, Cruelty, Looseness, and Irreligion, shall be respectively discouraged and severely punish'd, according to the Appointment of the Governor and Freemen in provincial Council and general Assembly; as also all Proceedings contrary to these Laws, that are not here made expresly penal.

XXXVIII.

THAT a Copy of these Laws shall be hung up in the provincial Council, and in publick Courts of Justice: And that they shall be read yearly at the Opening of every provincial Council and general Assembly, and Court of Justice; and their Assent shall be testified,

teſtified, by their ſtanding up after the Reading thereof.

XXXIX.

THAT there ſhall be at no time any Alteration of any of theſe Laws, without the Conſent of the Governor, his Heirs or Aſſigns, and ſix Parts of ſeven of the Freemen, met in provincial Council and general Aſſembly.

XL.

THAT all other Matters and Things not herein provided for, which ſhall and may concern the publick Juſtice, Peace or Safety of the ſaid Province; and the raiſing and impoſing Taxes, Cuſtoms, Duties, or other Charges whatſoever, ſhall be and are hereby referred to the Order, Prudence and Determination of the Governor and Freemen in provincial Council and general Aſſembly, to be held from time to time in the ſaid Province.

Signed and Sealed by the Governor and Freemen aforeſaid, the fifth *Day of the* third *Month, called* May, *One Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty-Two.*

Certain CONDITIONS *or* CONCESSIONS *agreed upon by* WILLIAM PENN, *Proprietor and Governor of the Province of* Penſilvania, *and thoſe who are the Adventurers and Purchaſers in the ſame Province, the* Eleventh *of* July, *One Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty-one.*

FIRST.

THAT ſo ſoon as it pleaſeth God, that the aboveſaid Perſons arrive there, a certain Quantity of Land or Ground Plat, ſhall be laid out for a large Town or City, in the moſt convenient Place upon the River for Health and Navigation; and every

every Purchaſer and Adventurer, ſhall by Lot have ſo much Land therein as will anſwer to the Porportion which he hath bought or taken up upon Rent: But it is to be noted, that the Surveyors ſhall conſider what Roads or Highways will be neceſſary to the Cities, Towns, or thro' the Lands. Great Roads from City to City ſhall not contain leſs than *forty* Foot in Breadth, and ſhall be firſt laid out and declared to be for Highways, before the Dividend of Acres be laid out for the Purchaſer; and the like Obſervation to be had for the Streets in the Towns and Cities, that there may be convenient Roads and Streets preſerved, not to be incroached upon by any Planter or Builder, that none may build irregularly to the Damage of another. *In this, Cuſtom governs.*

II.

THAT the Land in the Town be laid out together after the Proportion of *ten thouſand* Acres of the whole Country, that is, *two hundred* Acres if the Place will bear it: However, that the Proportion be by Lot, and entire, ſo as thoſe that deſire to be together, eſpecially thoſe that are by the Catalogue laid together, may be ſo laid together both in the Town and Country.

III.

THAT when the Country-Lots are laid out, every Purchaſer, from *one thouſand* to *ten thouſand* Acres, or more, not to have above *one thouſand* Acres together, unleſs in *three* Years they plant a Family upon every *thouſand* Acres; but that all ſuch as purchaſe together, lie together; and if as many as comply with this Condition, that the whole be laid out together.

IV.

THAT where any Number of Purchaſers, more or leſs, whoſe Number of Acres amounts to *five* or

ten thousand Acres, desire to sit together in a Lot or Township, they shall have their Lot or Township cast together, in such Places as have convenient Harbours or navigable Rivers attending it, if such can be found; and in case any one or more Purchasers plant not according to Agreement in this Concession, to the Prejudice of others of the same Township, upon Complaint thereof made to the Governor or his Deputy, with Assistance, they may award (if they see Cause) that the complaining Purchaser may, paying the Survey-Money, and Purchase-Money, and Interest thereof, be entitled, inrolled and lawfully invested in the Lands so not seated.

V.

THAT the Proportion of Lands that shall be laid out in the first great Town or City, for every Purchaser, shall be after the Proportion of *ten* Acres for every *five hundred* Acres purchased, if the Place will allow it.

VI.

THAT notwithstanding there be no mention made, in the several Deeds made to the Purchasers, yet the said *William Penn* does accord and declare, that all Rivers, Rivulets, Woods and Underwoods, Waters, Water-courses, Quarries, Mines and Minerals (except Mines Royal) shall be freely and fully enjoyed, and wholly by the Purchasers, into whose Lot they fall.

VII.

THAT for every *fifty* Acres that shall be allotted to a Servant at the End of his Service, his Quit-Rent shall be *two Shillings per Annum*, and the Master or Owner of the Servant, when he shall take up the other *fifty* Acres, his Quit-Rent shall be *four Shillings* by the Year, or if the Master of the Servant (by Reason in the Indentures he is so obliged to do) allot out to the Servant *fifty* Acres in his own Division, the said Master shall have on Demand al-

lotted him, from the Governor, the *one hundred* Acres at the chief Rent of *ſix Shillings per Annum.*

VIII.

AND for the Encouragement of ſuch as are ingenious and willing to ſearch out Gold and Silver Mines in this Province, it is hereby agreed, that they have Liberty to bore and dig in any Man's Property, fully paying the Damage done; and in caſe a Diſcovery ſhould be made, that the Diſcoverer have one *fifth*, the Owner of the Soil (if not the Diſcoverer) a *tenth* Part, the Governor *two fifths*, and the reſt to the publick Treaſury, ſaving to the King the Share reſerved by Patent.

IX.

IN every *hundred thouſand* Acres, the Governor and Proprietary, by Lot, reſerveth *ten* to himſelf, what ſhall lie but in one Place.

X.

THAT every Man ſhall be bound to plant or man ſo much of his Share of Land as ſhall be ſet out and ſurveyed, within *three* Years after it is ſo ſet out and ſurveyed, or elſe it ſhall be lawful for new Comers to be ſettled thereupon, paying to them their Survey-Money, and they go up higher for their Shares.

XI.

THERE ſhall be no buying and ſelling, be it with an *Indian*, or one among another, of any Goods to be exported, but what ſhall be performed in publick Market, when ſuch Places ſhall be ſet apart or erected, where they ſhall paſs the publick Stamp or Mark. If bad Ware, and prized as good, or deceitful in Proportion or Weight, to forfeit the Value as if good and full Weight and Proportion, to the publick Treaſury of the Province, whether it be the Merchandize of the *Indian*, or that of the Planters.

XII.

XII.

AND FORASMUCH as it is usual with the Planters, to over-reach the poor Natives of the Country in Trade, by Goods not being good of the Kind, or debased with Mixtures, with which they are sensibly aggrieved, it is agreed, whatever is sold to the *Indians*, in Consideration of their Furs, shall be sold in the Market-Place, and there suffer the Test, whether good or bad; if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good, that the Natives may not be abused nor provoked.

XIII.

THAT no Man shall by any Ways or Means, in Word or Deed, affront or wrong any *Indian*, but he shall incur the same Penalty of the Law, as if he had committed it against his Fellow-Planter; and if any *Indian* shall abuse, in Word or Deed, any Planter of this Province, that he shall not be his own Judge upon the *Indian*, but he shall make his Complaint to the Governor of the Province, or his Lieutenant or Deputy, or some inferior Magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his Power, take Care with the King of the said *Indian*, that all reasonable Satisfaction be made to the said injured Planter.

XIV.

THAT all Differences between the Planters and the Natives, shall also be ended by *twelve* Men, that is, by *six* Planters and *six* Natives, that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all Occasions of Heart-burnings and Mischief.

XV.

THAT the *Indians* shall have Liberty to do all Things relating to the Improvement of their Ground, and providing Sustenance for their Families, that any of the Planters shall enjoy.

XVI.

THAT the Laws as to Slanders, Drunkenneſs, Swearing, Curſing, Pride in Apparel, Treſpaſſes, Diſtreſſes, Replevins, Weights and Meaſures, ſhall be the ſame as in *England*, till altered by Law in this Province.

XVII.

THAT all ſhall mark their Hogs, Sheep and other Cattle, and what are not marked within *three* Months after it is in their Poſſeſſion, be it young or old, it ſhall be forfeited to the Governor, that ſo People may be compelled to avoid the Occaſions of much Strife between Planters.

XVIII.

THAT in clearing the Ground, Care be taken to leave one Acre of Trees for every *five* Acres clear'd, eſpecially to preſerve Oak and Mulberries for Silk and Shipping.

XIX.

THAT all Ship-Maſters ſhall give an Account of their Countries, Names, Ships, Owners, Freights and Paſſengers, to an Officer to be appointed for that Purpoſe, which ſhall be regiſtred within *two* Days after their Arrival; and if they ſhall refuſe ſo to do, that then none preſume to trade with them, upon Forfeiture thereof; and that ſuch Maſters be looked upon, as having an evil Intention to the Province.

XX.

THAT no Perſon leave the Province, without Publication being made thereof, in the Market-Place, *three* Weeks before, and a Certificate from ſome Juſtice of the Peace, of his Clearneſs with his Neighbours, and thoſe he hath dealt withal, ſo far as ſuch an Aſſurance can be attained and given: And if any Maſter of a Ship ſhall, contrary hereunto, receive and carry away any Perſon, that hath not

not given that publick Notice, the ſaid Maſter ſhall be liable to all Debts owing by the ſaid Perſon, ſo ſecretly tranſported from the Province. *Laſtly*, that theſe are to be added to, or corrected, by and with the Conſent of the Parties hereunto ſubſcribed.

WILLIAM PENN.

Sealed and delivered in the Preſence of

William Boelham,
Harbert Springet,
Thomas Prudyard.

Sealed and delivered in the Preſence of all the Proprietors who have hereunto ſubſcribed, except Thomas Farrinborrough *and* John Goodſon, *in the Preſence of*

Hugh Chamberlen,
R. Murray,
Harbert Springet,
Humphry South,
Thomas Barker,
Samuel Jobſon,
John-Joſeph Moore,
William Powel,
Richard Davie,
Griffith Jones,
Hugh Lambe,
Thomas Farrinborrough,
John Goodſon.

Act ACT *of* SETTLEMENT, *made at* Cheſter, 1682.

WHEREAS WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Penſylvania*, and Territories thereunto belonging, hath, out of his great Kindneſs and Goodneſs to the Inhabitants thereof, been favourably pleaſed to give and grant unto them a Charter of Liberties and Privileges, dated the *twenty-fifth* Day of the *ſecond* Month, *One Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty-two*: By which Charter it is ſaid, the Government ſhall

conſiſt of the Governor and Freemen of the ſaid Province, in the Form of a provincial Council and general Aſſembly; and that the provincial Council ſhall conſiſt of *ſeventy-two* Members, to be choſen by the Freemen; and that the general Aſſembly may, the *firſt* Year, conſiſt of the whole Body of the Freeholders, and ever after of an elected Number, not exceeding *two hundred* Perſons, without the Conſent of the provincial Council and general Aſſembly: And ſuch Aſſembly to ſit yearly on the *twentieth* Day of the *third* Month, as in the *firſt*, *ſecond*, *third*, *ſixth*, *fourteenth* and *ſixteenth* Articles of the Charter, Reference being thereunto had, doth more at large appear.

AND FORASMUCH as this Charter was the *firſt* of thoſe probationary Laws, that were agreed to and made by and between the Proprietary, and Governor, and Freemen in *England*, that were Purchaſers in this Province, which ſaid Laws, in the whole and in every Part thereof, were to be ſubmitted to the Explanation and Confirmation of the *firſt* provincial Council and general Aſſembly that was to be held in this Province, as by the Title and *firſt* Law of the ſaid Agreement, doth plainly appear.

AND WHEREAS, the Proprietary and Governor hath, according to that Charter, iſſued out Writs to the reſpective Sheriffs of the *ſix* Counties of this Province, to ſummon the Freemen thereof, to chuſe in each County *twelve* Perſons of moſt Note for their Sobriety, Wiſdom, and Integrity, to ſerve in provincial Council; and alſo to inform the Freemen that they might come, for this Time, in their own Perſons, to make up a general Aſſembly, according to Charter. And that the ſaid reſpective Sheriffs by their Returns, and the Freemen by their Petitions to the Proprietary and Governor, have plainly declared, that the Fewneſs of the People, their Inability in Eſtate, and Unſkilfulneſs in Mat-

ters

ters of Government, will not permit them to ſerve in ſo large a Council and Aſſembly, as by the Charter is expreſſed; and therefore do deſire, that the Members now choſen to be their Deputies and Repreſentatives, may ſerve both for provincial Council and general Aſſembly; that is to ſay, *three* out of each County for the provincial Council, and the remaining *nine* for the general Aſſembly, according to Act, as fully and amply as if the ſaid provincial Council and general Aſſembly had conſiſted of the ſaid Numbers of Members mentioned in the Charter of Liberties, upon Conſideration of the Premiſes; and that the Proprietary and Governor may teſtify his great Willingneſs to comply with that which may be moſt eaſy and pleaſing, he is willing that it be enacted.

AND BE IT ENACTED by the Proprietary and Governor, by and with the unanimous Advice and Conſent of the Freemen of this Province, and Territories thereunto belonging, in provincial Council and general Aſſembly met, That the Numbers deſired by the Inhabitants in their ſeveral Petitions, and expreſs'd to be their Deſires by the Sheriffs Returns to the Proprietary and Governor, to ſerve as the provincial Council and general Aſſembly, be allowed and taken, to all Intents and Purpoſes, to be the provincial Council and general Aſſembly of this Province: And that the *Quorum* ſhall be proportionably ſettled, according to the Method expreſs'd in the *fifth* Article; that is to ſay, *two thirds* to make a *Quorum* in extraordinary Caſes, and *one third* in ordinary Caſes, as is provided in the ſaid *fifth* Article: Which ſaid provincial Council and general Aſſembly, ſo already choſen, are and ſhall be held and reputed the legal provincial Council and general Aſſembly of the Province and Territories thereof, for this preſent Year; and that from and after the Expiration of this preſent Year, the provincial Council ſhall conſiſt of *three* Perſons

out of each County, as aforesaid; and the Assembly shall consist of *six* Persons out of each County, which said provincial Council and general Assembly may be hereafter enlarged, as the Governor, and provincial Council and Assembly shall see Cause, so as the said Number do not, at any time, exceed the Limitations expres's'd in the *third* and *sixteenth* Article of the Charter, any Thing in this Act, or any other Act, Charter or Law, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

AND because the Freemen of this Province and Territories thereof, are deeply sensible of the kind and good Intentions of the Proprietary and Governor in this Charter, and of the singular Benefit that redounds to them thereby, and are desirous that it may in all Things best answer the Design of the publick Good, the Freemen of the said provincial Council and general Assembly met, having unanimously requested some Variations, Explanations and Additions, in and to the said Charter, he the Proprietary and Governor, hath therefore yielded that it be enacted:

AND it is hereby ENACTED, That the Time for the Meeting of the Freemen of this Province and Territories thereof, to chuse their Deputies to represent and serve them, in provincial Council and general Assembly, shall be yearly hereafter, on the *tenth* Day of the *first* Month, which Members so chosen for the provincial Council, shall make their Appearance, and give their Attendance, in provincial Council, within *twenty* Days after their Election; and the said Members elected to serve in general Assembly, shall yearly meet and assemble, on the *tenth* Day of the said *third* Month, to the End and Purposes declared in the Charter, at and in such Place as is limited in the said Charter, unless the Governor and provincial Council shall, at any time, see Cause to the contrary.

AND

AND WHEREAS it is expreſs'd in the ſaid Charter, That the Governor and provincial Council ſhall prepare and propoſe to the general Aſſembly, all Bills which they ſhall think fit to paſs into Laws, within the ſaid Province: BE IT ENACTED by the Authority aforeſaid, That the Governor and provincial Council, ſhall have the Power of preparing and propoſing to the general Aſſembly, all Bills that they ſhall jointly aſſent to and think fit to have paſs'd into Laws, in the ſaid Province and Territories thereof, that are not inconſiſtent with, but according to the Powers granted by the King's Letters Patents to the Proprietary and Governor aforeſaid; which Bills ſhall be publiſhed in the moſt noted Towns and Places in the ſaid Province and Territories thereof, *twenty* Days before the Meeting of the general Aſſembly aforeſaid.

AND for the better Deciſion and Determination of all Matters and Queſtions upon Elections of Repreſentatives, and Debates in provincial Council and general Aſſembly, It is hereby declared and ENACTED, *&c.* That all Queſtions upon Elections of Repreſentatives, and Debates in provincial Council and general Aſſembly, in perſonal Matters, ſhall be decided by the Ballot; and all Queſtions about preparing and enacting Laws, ſhall be determined by the Vote.

AND that ſo united an Intereſt may have an united Term and Stile to be expreſs'd by, It is hereby declared and ENACTED, That the general Aſſembly ſhall be henceforth termed or called THE ASSEMBLY; and the Meeting of the Governor, provincial Council, and Aſſembly, and their Acts and Proceedings, ſhall be ſtiled and called THE MEETINGS, SESSIONS, ACTS *or* PROCEEDINGS *of the* GENERAL ASSEMBLY *of the Province of* Penſilvania, *and the Territories thereunto belonging*. And that the Freemen of this Province, and

and the Territories thereof, may not on their Part, ſeem unmindful or ungrateful to their Proprietary and Governor, for the Teſtimony he hath been pleaſed to give, of his great Good-Will towards them and theirs, nor be wanting of that Duty they owe to him and themſelves, they have prayed Leave hereby to declare their moſt hearty Acceptance of the ſaid Charter, and their humble Acknowledgments for the ſame, ſolemnly promiſing, that they will inviolably obſerve and keep the ſame, except as is therein excepted, and will neither directly nor indirectly contrive, propoſe, enact, or do any Thing or Things whatſoever, by Virtue of the Power thereby granted unto them, that ſhall or may redound to the Prejudice or Diſadvantage of the Proprietary and Governor, his Heirs and Succeſſors, in their juſt Rights, Properties and Privileges, granted to him and them by the King's Letters Patents, and Deeds of Releaſe and Feoffment made to him by *JAMES Duke of* YORK *and* ALBANY, *&c.* and whom they deſire may be hereby acknowledged and recognized the true and rightful Proprietaries and Governors of the Province of *Penſylvania*, and Territories annexed, according to the King's Letters Patents, and Deeds of Releaſe and Feoffment from *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, unto the ſaid Proprietary and Governor, his Heirs and Succeſſors; any Thing in this Act, or any other Act, Grant, Charter, or Law, to the contrary of theſe Things herein and hereby explained, altered, limited, promiſed, declared, and enacted, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

The

The FRAME *of the Government of the Province of* Penſylvania, *and Territories thereunto annexed in* America.

TO ALL PERSONS, To whom theſe Preſents may come. WHEREAS King *CHARLES the Second*, by his Letters Patents, under the great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the *fourth* Day of *March*, in the *thirty and third* Year of the King, for divers Conſiderations therein mentioned, hath been graciouſly pleaſed to give and grant unto me *William Penn* (by the Name of *William Penn*, Eſq; Son and Heir of Sir *William Penn* deceaſed) and to my Heirs and Aſſigns for ever, all that Tract of Land, or Province called *Penſylvania*, in *America*, with divers great Powers, Preheminences, Royalties, Juriſdictions, and Authorities, neceſſary for the Well-being and Government thereof. AND WHEREAS the King's deareſt Brother, *James* Duke of *York* and *Albany*, &c. by his Deeds of Feoffment, under his Hand and Seal, duly perfected, bearing Date the *four and twentieth* Day of *Auguſt*, *One Thouſand Six Hundred Eighty and Two*, did grant unto me, my Heirs and Aſſigns, all that Tract of Land, lying and being from *twelve* Miles Northward of *Newcaſtle* upon *Delaware* River, in *America*, to *Cape Hinlopen*, upon the ſaid River and Bay of *Delaware* Southward, together with all Royalties, Franchiſes, Duties, Juriſdictions, Liberties and Privileges thereunto belonging.

NOW KNOW YE, That for the Well-being and good Government of the ſaid Province and Territories thereunto annexed, and for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters, that may be therein concerned, in Purſuance of the Rights and Powers afore-mentioned, I the ſaid *William Penn* have declared, granted and confirmed, and by theſe Preſents, for me, my Heirs and Aſſigns, do

do declare, grant and confirm unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers of, in and to the ſaid Province and Territories thereof, theſe Liberties, Franchiſes and Properties, ſo far as in me lieth, to be held, enjoyed and kept by the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers of and in the ſaid Province of *Penſylvania* and Territories thereunto annexed, for ever.

IMPRIMIS.

THAT the Government of this Province and Territories thereof ſhall, from Time to Time, according to the Powers of the Patent and Deeds of Feoffment aforeſaid, conſiſt of the Proprietary and Governor, and Freemen of the ſaid Province and Territories thereof, in Form of provincial Council and Aſſembly, which provincial Council ſhall conſiſt of *eighteen* Perſons, being *three* out of each County, and which Aſſembly ſhall conſiſt of *thirty-ſix* Perſons, being *ſix* out of each County, Men of moſt Note for their Virtue, Wiſdom and Ability, by whom all Laws ſhall be made, Officers choſen, and publick Affairs tranſacted, as is hereafter limited and declared.

II.

THERE being *three* Perſons already choſen for every reſpective County of this Province and Territories thereof, to ſerve in the provincial Council, *one* of them for *three* Years, *one* for *two* Years, and *one* for *one* Year; and *one* of them being to go off yearly in every County; that on the *tenth* Day of the *firſt* Month yearly, for ever after, the Freemen of the ſaid Province and Territories thereof ſhall meet together in the moſt convenient Place in every County of this Province and Territories thereof, then and there to chuſe *one* Perſon, qualified as aforeſaid, in every County, being *one third* of the Number to ſerve in provincial Council, for *three* Years; it being intended, that *one third* of the whole provincial Council, conſiſting and to conſiſt

of

of *eighteen* Persons, falling off yearly, it shall be yearly supplied with such yearly Elections, as aforesaid; and that *one* Person shall not continue in longer than *three* Years; and in Case any Member shall decease before the last Election, during his Time, that then at the next Election ensuing his Decease, another shall be chosen to supply his Place for the remaining Time he was to have served, and no longer.

III.

THAT after the *first seven* Years, every one of the said *third* Parts that goeth yearly off, shall be incapable of being chosen again for one whole Year following, that so all that are capable and qualified as aforesaid, may be fitted for Government, and have a Share of the Care and Burthen of it.

IV.

THAT the provincial Council in all Cases and Matters of Moment, as their arguing upon Bills to be passed into Laws, or Proceedings about erecting of Courts of Justice, sitting in Judgment upon Criminals impeached, and Choice of Officers in such Manner as is herein after expressed, not less than *two thirds* of the whole shall make a *Quorum*; and that the Consent and Approbation of *two thirds* of that *Quorum* shall be had in all such Cases or Matters of Moment: And that in all Cases and Matters of lesser Moment, *one third* of the whole shall make a *Quorum*, the Majority of which shall and may always determine in such Cases and Causes of lesser Moment.

V.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council, shall have the Power of preparing and proposing to the Assembly hereafter mentioned, all Bills which they shall see needful, and that shall at any Time be past into Laws within the said Province and Territories thereof, which Bills shall be published and

affixed to the moſt noted Place in every County of this Province and Territories thereof, *twenty* Days before the Meeting of the Aſſembly, in order to paſſing them into Laws.

VI.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall take Care, that all Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, which ſhall at any Time be made within the ſaid Province and Territories, be duly and diligently executed.

VII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall, at all Times, have the Care of the Peace and Safety of this Province and Territories thereof; and that nothing be by any Perſon attempted to the Subverſion of this Frame of Government.

VIII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall, at all Times, ſettle and order the Situation of all Cities and Market-towns in every County, modelling therein all publick Buildings, Streets, and Market-places; and ſhall appoint all neceſſary Roads and Highways in this Province and Territories thereof.

IX.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council ſhall, at all Times, have Power to inſpect the Management of the publick Treaſury, and puniſh thoſe who ſhall convert any Part thereof to any other Uſe, than what hath been agreed upon by the Governor, provincial Council, and Aſſembly.

X.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council, ſhall erect and order all publick Schools, and encourage and reward the Authors of uſeful Sciences and laudable Inventions, in the ſaid Province and Territories thereof.

XI.

XI.

THAT *one third* of the provincial Council residing with the Governor, shall with the Governor, from Time to Time, have the Care of the Management of all publick Affairs, relating to the Peace, Justice, Treasury, and Improvement of the Province and Territories, and to the good Education of Youth, and Sobriety of the Manners of the Inhabitants therein, as aforesaid.

XII.

THAT the Governor or his Deputy, shall always preside in the provincial Council, and that he shall at no Time therein perform any publick Act of State whatsoever, that shall or may relate unto the Justice, Trade, Treasury, or Safety of the Province and Territories aforesaid, but by and with the Advice and Consent of the provincial Council thereof.

XIII.

AND to the End that all Bills prepared and agreed by the Governor and provincial Council, as aforesaid, may yet have the more full Concurrence of the Freemen of the Province and Territories thereof, it is declared, granted and confirmed, that at the Time and Place in every County, for the Choice of *one* Person to serve in provincial Council, as aforesaid, the respective Members thereof, at their said Meeting, shall yearly chuse out of themselves *six* Persons of most Note, for Virtue, Wisdom, and Ability, to serve in Assembly, as their Representatives, who shall yearly meet on the *tenth* Day of the *third* Month, in the capital Town or City of the said Province, unless the Governor and provincial Council shall think fit to appoint another Place to meet in, where, during *eight* Days, the several Members may confer freely with one another; and if any of them see meet, with a Committee

mitte of the provincial Council, which ſhall be at that Time purpoſely appointed, to receive from any of them, Propoſals for the Alterations or Amendment of any of the ſaid propoſed and promulgated Bills; and on the *ninth* Day from their ſo meeting, the ſaid Aſſembly, after their reading over of the propoſed Bills, by the Clerk of the provincial Council, and the Occaſions and Motives for them being opened by the Governor or his Deputy, ſhall, upon the Queſtion by him put, give their Affirmative or Negative, which to them ſeemeth beſt, in ſuch Manner as is hereafter expreſſed: But not leſs than *two thirds* ſhall make a *Quorum* in the paſſing of all Bills into Laws, and Choice of ſuch Officers as are by them to be choſen.

XIV.

THAT the Laws ſo prepared and propoſed as aforeſaid, that are aſſented to by the Aſſembly, ſhall be enrolled as Laws of this Province and Territories thereof, with this Stile, *By the Governor, with the Aſſent and Approbation of the Freemen in provincial Council and Aſſembly met*; and from henceforth, the Meetings, Seſſions, Acts, and Proceedings of the Governor, provincial Council and Aſſembly, ſhall be ſtiled and called, *The Meeting, Seſſions, and Proceedings, of the general Aſſembly of the Province of* Penſylvania, *and the Territories thereunto belonging.*

XV.

AND that the Repreſentatives of the People in provincial Council and Aſſembly, may in after Ages bear ſome Proportion with the Increaſe and multiplying of the People, the Number of ſuch Repreſentatives of the People, may be from Time to Time increaſed and enlarged, ſo as at no Time the Number exceed *ſeventy-two* for the provincial Council, and *two hundred* for the Aſſembly; the Appointment and Proportion of which Number, as

alſo

alſo the laying and methodizing of the Choice of ſuch Repreſentatives in future Time, moſt equally to the Diviſion of the Country, or Number of the Inhabitants, is left to the Governor and provincial Council to propoſe, and the Aſſembly to reſolve, ſo that the Order of Proportion be ſtrictly obſerved, both in the Choice of the Council and the reſpective Committees thereof, *viz. one third* to go off and come in yearly.

XVI.

THAT from and after the Death of this preſent Governor, the provincial Council ſhall, together with the ſucceeding Governor, erect from Time to Time, ſtanding Courts of Juſtice, in ſuch Places and Number, as they ſhall judge convenient for the good Government of the ſaid Province and Territories thereof; and that the provincial Council ſhall, on the *thirteenth* Day of the *ſecond* Month then next enſuing, elect and preſent to the Governor or his Deputy, a double Number of Perſons, to ſerve for Judges, Treaſurers, and Maſters of the Rolls, within the ſaid Province and Territories, to continue ſo long as they ſhall well behave themſelves in thoſe Capacities reſpectively; and the Freemen of the ſaid Province, in an Aſſembly met on the *thirteenth* Day of the *third* Month, yearly, ſhall elect and then preſent to the Governor or his Deputy, a double Number of Perſons to ſerve for Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace and Coroners, for the Year next enſuing; out of which reſpective Elections and Preſentments, the Governor or his Deputy, ſhall nominate and commiſſionate the proper Number for each Office, the *third* Day after the ſaid reſpective Preſentments; or elſe the *firſt* named in ſuch Preſentment for each Office as aforeſaid, ſhall ſtand and ſerve in that Office, the Time before reſpectively limited; and in Caſe of Death or Default, ſuch Vacancy ſhall be ſupplied by the

Governor and provincial Council in Manner aforesaid.

XVII.

THAT the Assembly shall continue so long as may be needful, to impeach Criminals fit to be there impeached, to pass such Bills into Laws as are proposed to them, which they shall think fit to pass into Laws; and till such Time as the Governor and provincial Council shall declare, *That they have nothing further to propose unto them for their Assent and Approbation*; and that Declaration shall be a Dismiss to the Assembly for that Time; which Assembly shall be notwithstanding, capable of assembling together, upon the Summons of the Governor and provincial Council, at any Time during that Year, if the Governor and provincial Council shall see Occasion for their so assembling.

XVIII.

THAT all the Elections of Members or Representatives of the People to serve in provincial Council and Assembly, and all Questions to be determined by both or either of them, that relate to Choice of Officers, and all or any other personal Matters, shall be resolved or determined by the *Ballot*; and all Things relating to the preparing and passing of Bills into Laws, shall be openly declared and resolved by the *Vote*.

XIX.

THAT at all Times when the Proprietary and Governor shall happen to be an Infant, and under the Age of *one and twenty* Years, and no Guardians or Commissioners are appointed in Writing, by the Father of the said Infant, or that such Guardian shall be deceased, that during such Minority, the provincial Council shall, from Time to Time, as they

they ſhall ſee meet, conſtitute and appoint Guardians and Commiſſioners not exceeding *three*, one of which ſhall preſide as Deputy and chief Guardian during ſuch Minority, and ſhall have and execute, with the Conſent of one of the other two, all the Power of a Governor in all publick Affairs and Concerns of the ſaid Province and Territories thereof, according to Charter; which ſaid Guardian ſo appointed, ſhall alſo have the Care and Overſight of the Eſtate of the ſaid Minor, and be yearly accountable and reſponſible for the ſame to the provincial Council, and the provincial Council to the Minor, when of Age, or to the next Heir, in caſe of the Minor's Death, for the Truſt before expreſſed.

XX.

THAT as often as any Days of the Month mentioned in any Article of this Charter, ſhall fall upon the *firſt* Day of the Week, commonly called the *Lord's-day*, the Buſineſs appointed for that Day, ſhall be deferred until the next Day, unleſs in Caſes of Emergency.

XXI.

AND for the Satisfaction and Encouragement of all Aliens, I do give and grant, that if any Alien, who is or ſhall be a Purchaſer, or who doth or ſhall inhabit in this Province or Territories thereof, ſhall deceaſe at any Time before he can well be naturalized, his Right and Intereſt therein, ſhall notwithſtanding deſcend to his Wife and Children, or other his Relations, be he Teſtate or Inteſtate, according to the Laws of this Province and Territories thereof in ſuch Caſes provided, in as free and ample Manner, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſaid Alien had been naturalized.

XXII.

AND that the Inhabitants of this Province and Territories thereof, may be accommodated with

such Food and Sustenance, as God in his Providence hath freely afforded, I do also further grant to the Inhabitants of this Province and Territories thereof, Liberty to fowl and hunt upon the Lands they hold, and all other Lands therein not enclosed; and to fish in all Waters in the said Lands, and in all Rivers and Rivulets in and belonging to this Province and Territories thereof, with Liberty to draw his or their Fish on Shore on any Man's Lands, so as it be not to the Detriment or Annoyance of the Owner thereof, except such Lands as do lie upon Inland Rivulets that are not Boatable, or which are or may be hereafter erected into Manors.

XXIII.

AND that all the Inhabitants of this Province and Territories thereof, whether Purchasers or others, may have the last worldly Pledge of my good and kind Intentions to them and theirs, I do give, grant, and confirm to all, and every one of them, full and quiet Possession of their respective Lands, to which they have any lawful or equitable Claim, saving only such Rents and Services for the same as are or customarily ought to be reserved to me, my Heirs or Assigns.

XXIV.

THAT no Act, Law or Ordinance whatsoever, shall at any Time hereafter be made or done by the Proprietary and Governor of this Province and Territories thereunto belonging, his Heirs or Assigns, or by the Freemen in provincial Council or Assembly, to alter, change, or diminish, the Form or Effect of this Charter, or any Part or Clause thereof, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, without the Consent of the Proprietary and Governor, his Heirs or Assigns, and *six* Parts of *seven* of the said Freemen in provincial Council and Assembly met.

XXV.

XXV.

AND LASTLY, I the ſaid *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Penſylvania* and Territories thereunto belonging, for me, my Heirs and Aſſigns, have ſolemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby ſolemnly declare, grant and confirm, that neither I, nor my Heirs nor Aſſigns, ſhall procure or do any Thing or Things, whereby the Liberties in this Charter contained and expreſſed, ſhall be infringed or broken: And if any Thing be procured by any Perſon or Perſons, contrary to theſe Premiſes, it ſhall be held of no Force or Effect. IN WITNESS whereof, I the ſaid *William Penn*, at *Philadelphia* in *Penſylvania*, have unto this preſent Charter of Liberties ſet my Hand and broad Seal, this *ſecond* Day of the *ſecond* Month, in the Year of our Lord *one Thouſand ſix Hundred Eighty and Three*, being the *five and thirtieth* Year of the King, and the *third* Year of my Government.

WILLIAM PENN.

THIS within CHARTER, *which we have diſtinctly heard read and thankfully received, ſhall be by us inviolably kept; at* Philadelphia, *the* ſecond *Day of the* ſecond *Month*, one Thouſand ſix Hundred Eighty and Three.

The Members of the provincial Council preſent.

William Markham,
John Moll,
William Haige,
Chriſtopher Taylor,
John Simcock,
William Clayton,
Francis Whittwel,
Thomas Holme,
William Clark,
William Biles,
James Harriſon,
John Richardſon,
Philip-Thomas Lenman, Secr. Gov.
Richard Ingelo, Cl. Coun.

The Members of the Assembly present.

Casparus Harman,
John Darby,
Benjamin Williams,
William Guest,
Valentine Hollingsworth,
James Boyden,
Bennony Bishop,
John Beazor,
John Harding,
Andrews Bringston,
Simon Irons,
John Wood,
John Curtis,
Daniel Brown,
William Futcher,
John Kipshaven,
Alexander Molestine,
Robert Bracy, sen.
Thomas Bracy,
William Yardly,
John Hastings,
Robert Wade,
Thomas Hassald,
John Hart,
Robert Hall,
Robert Bedwell,
William Simsmore,
Samuel Darke,
Robert Lucas,
James Williams,
John Blunston,
John Songhurst,
John Hill,
Nicholas Waln,
Thomas Fitzwater,
John Clows,
Luke Watson,
Joseph Phipps,
Dennis Rotchford,
John Brinklair,
Henry Bowman,
Cornelius Verhoofe,
John Southworth, Cl. of the Synod.

Some of the Inhabitants of *Philadelphia* present.

William Howel,
Edmund Warner,
Henry Lewis,
Samuel Miles.

The CHARTER *of the City of* PHILADELPHIA.

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pensylvania*, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, sends greeting. KNOW YE, That at the humble Request

Requeſt of the Inhabitants and Settlers of this Town of *Philadelphia*, being ſome of the firſt Adventurers and Purchaſers within this Province, for their Encouragement, and for the more immediate and entire Government of the ſaid Town, and better Regulation of Trade therein: I have by Virtue of the King's Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of *England*, erected the ſaid Town into a Borough, and by theſe Preſents do erect the ſaid Town and Borough of *Philadelphia* into a CITY; which ſaid City ſhall extend the Limits and Bounds, as it is laid out between *Delaware* and *Skuylkill*.

AND I do for me, my Heirs and Aſſigns, grant and ordain, that the Streets of the ſaid City, ſhall for ever continue as they are now laid out and regulated; and that the End of each Street extending into the River *Delaware*, ſhall be and continue free for the Uſe and Service of the ſaid City, and the Inhabitants thereof, who may improve the ſame for the beſt Advantage of the City, and build Wharfs ſo far out into the River there, as the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council, herein after mentioned, ſhall ſee meet.

AND I do nominate *Edward Shippen* to be the preſent Mayor, who ſhall ſo continue until another be choſen, as is herein after directed.

AND I do hereby aſſign and name *Thomas Story* to be preſent Recorder, to do and execute all Things which unto the Office of Recorder of the ſaid City doth or may belong.

AND I do appoint *Thomas Farmer* to be the preſent Sheriff, and *Robert Aſheton* to be the preſent Town-clerk, and Clerk of the Peace, and Clerk of the Court and Courts.

AND I do hereby name, conſtitute, and appoint, *Joſhua Carpenter*, *Griffith Jones*, *Anthony Morris*, *Joſeph Wilcox*, *Nathan Stanbury*, *Charles Rea*, *Thomas Maſters*, and *William Carter*, Citi-

zens and Inhabitants of the ſaid City, to be the preſent Aldermen of the ſaid City of *Philadelphia*.

AND I do alſo nominate and appoint *John Parſons*, *William Hudſon*, *William Lee*, *Nehemiah Allen*, *Thomas Paſchal*, *John Bud*, jun. *Edward Smout*, *Samuel Buckley*, *James Atkinſon*, *Pentecoſt Teague*, *Francis Cook*, and *Henry Badcocke*, to be the *twelve* preſent Common-council Men of the ſaid City.

AND I do by theſe Preſents, for me, my Heirs and Succeſſors, give, grant and declare, that the ſaid Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common-council Men for the Time being, and they which hereafter ſhall be Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common-council Men within the ſaid City, and their Succeſſors, for ever hereafter be and ſhall be, by Virtue of theſe Preſents, one Body corporate and politick in Deed, and by the Name of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, in the Province of *Penſylvania*: And them by the Name of Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, one Body politick and corporate in Deed and in Name, I do for me, my Heirs and Succeſſors, fully create, conſtitute and confirm, by theſe Preſents; and that by the ſame Name of Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, they may have perpetual Succeſſion; and that they and their Succeſſors, by the Name of Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, be and at all Times hereafter ſhall be Perſons able and capable in Law, to have, get, receive, and poſſeſs, Lands and Tenements, Rents, Liberties, Juriſdictions, Franchiſes and Hereditaments, to them and their Succeſſors in Fee-ſimple, or for Term of Life, Lives, Years, or otherwiſe; and alſo Goods, Chattels, and other Things, of what Nature, Kind, or Quality ſoever.

AND alſo to give, grant, let, ſell and aſſign the ſame Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels,

Chattels, and to do and execute all other Things about the ſame, by the Name aforeſaid; and alſo that they be and ſhall be for ever hereafter Perſons able and capable in Law, to ſue and be ſued, plead and be impleaded, anſwer and be anſwered unto, defend and be defended, in all or any the Courts and other Places, and before any Judges, Juſtices, and other Perſons whatſoever within the ſaid Province, in all Manner of Actions, Suits, Complaints, Pleas, Cauſes and Matters whatſoever, and of what Nature or Kind ſoever.

AND that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid Mayor and Commonalty of the ſaid City of *Philadelphia*, and their Succeſſors, for ever hereafter, to have and uſe one common Seal for the ſealing of all Buſineſſes touching the ſaid Corporation, and the ſame from Time to Time at their Will and Pleaſure to change or alter.

AND I do for me, my Heirs and Succeſſors, give, and by theſe Preſents, grant full Power and Authority unto the Mayor, Recorder and Common-Council of the ſaid City of *Philadelphia*, or any *five* or more of the Aldermen, and *nine* or more of the Common-Council Men, the Mayor and Recorder for the time being, or either of them, being preſent, on the *firſt third* Day of the Week, in the *eighth* Month yearly for ever hereafter, publickly to meet at a convenient Room or Place within the ſaid City, to be by them appointed for that Purpoſe, and then and there nominate, elect and chuſe one of the Aldermen to be Mayor for that enſuing Year.

AND alſo to add to the Number of Aldermen and Common-Council Men, ſuch and ſo many of thoſe, that by Virtue of theſe Preſents ſhall be admitted Freemen of the ſaid City from Time to Time, as they the ſaid Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council ſhall ſee Occaſion.

AND

AND that ſuch Perſon who ſhall be ſo elected Mayor aforeſaid, ſhall within *three* Days next after ſuch Election, be preſented before the Governor of this Province, or his Deputy for the time being, and there ſhall ſubſcribe the Declarations and Profeſſion of his Chriſtian Belief, according to the late Act of Parliament made in the *firſt* Year of King *William*'s Reign, entitled, *An Act for exempting their Majeſties Subjects diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties of certain Laws*; and then and there the Mayor ſo preſented, ſhall make his ſolemn Affirmation and Engagement for the due Execution of his Office.

AND that the Recorder, Sheriff, Aldermen, and Common-council Men, and all other Officers of the ſaid City, before they or any of them ſhall be admitted to execute their reſpective Offices, ſhall make and ſubſcribe the ſaid Declarations and Profeſſion aforeſaid, before the Mayor for the Time being, and at the ſame Time ſhall be atteſted for the due Execution of their Offices reſpectively; which Declarations, Promiſes and Atteſtations, the Mayor of the ſaid City for the Time being, is hereby impowered to take and adminiſter accordingly.

AND that the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the ſaid City, for the Time being, ſhall be Juſtices of the Peace and Juſtices of Oyer and Terminer; and are hereby impowered to act within the ſaid City and Liberties thereof accordingly, as fully and amply as any Juſtice or Juſtices of the Peace or Oyer and Terminer, can or may do within the ſaid Province.

AND that they or any *four* or more of them (whereof the Mayor and Recorder of the ſaid City for the Time being, ſhall be *two*) ſhall and may for ever hereafter have Power and Authority, by Virtue of theſe Preſents, to hear and enquire into all and all Manner of Treaſons, Murthers, Manſlaughters,

ſlaughters, and all Manner of Felonies and other Crimes and Offences, Capital and Criminal, whatſoever, according to the Laws of this Province and of the Kingdom of *England*, with Power alſo to hear and determine all petty Larcenies, Routs, Riots, unlawful Aſſemblies; and to try and puniſh all Perſons that ſhall be convicted for Drunkenneſs, Swearing, Scolding, breaking the Peace, or ſuch like Offences, which are by the Laws of this Province to be puniſhed by Fine, Impriſonment or Whipping; with Power alſo to award Proceſs againſt all Rioters and Breakers of the Peace, and to bind them, and all other Offenders and Perſons of evil Fame, to the Peace or good Behaviour, as any Juſtice or Juſtices of the Peace can do, without being accountable to me or my Heirs, for any Fines or Amerciaments to be impoſed for the ſaid Offences or any of them.

AND I do hereby impower them or any *four* of them (whereof the Mayor and Recorder for the Time being, ſhall be *two*) with the City Sheriff and Town-clerk, to hold and keep a Court of Record, Quarterly, or oftener, if they ſee Occaſion, for the enquiring, hearing and determining of the Pleas and Matters aforeſaid; and upon their own View, or after a legal Procedure in ſome of thoſe Courts, to cauſe all Nuiſances and Encroachments in the Streets of the ſaid City to be removed, and puniſh the Parties concerned, as the Law and Uſage in ſuch Caſes ſhall require.

AND I do by theſe Preſents aſſign and appoint, that the preſent Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen herein before-mentioned, be the preſent Juſtices of the Peace, and Oyer and Terminer, within the ſaid City; and that they and all others that ſhall be Mayors, Recorders and Aldermen of the ſaid City for the Time being, ſhall have full Power and Authority, and are hereby impowered

and authorized, without any further or other Commiſſion, to be Juſtices of the Peace, and of Oyer and Terminer, within the ſaid City for ever; and ſhall alſo be Juſtices of the Peace, and the Mayor and Recorder ſhall be of the *Quorum* of the Juſtices of the County Courts, Quarter-ſeſſions, Oyer and Terminer, and Goal Delivery, in the ſaid County of *Philadelphia*; and ſhall have full Power to award Proceſs, bind to the Peace or Behaviour, or commit to Priſon, for any Matter or Cauſe, ariſing without the ſaid City and within the Body of the aforeſaid County, as Occaſion ſhall require; and to cauſe Kalendars to be made of ſuch Priſoners, which, together with all Recognizances and Examinations taken before them, for or concerning any Matter or Cauſe not determinable by them, ſhall be duly returned to the Judges or Juſtices of the ſaid County, in their reſpective Courts where the ſame ſhall be cognizable.

AND that it may be lawful to and for the ſaid Mayor and Commonalty and their Succeſſors, when they ſee Occaſion, to erect a Goal or Priſon and Court-houſe within the ſaid City.

AND that the Mayor and Recorder for the Time being, ſhall have, and by theſe Preſents have Power to take Recognizance of Debts there, according to the Statute of Merchants, and of Action Burnel; and to uſe and affix the common Seal thereupon, and to all Certificates concerning the ſame.

AND that it may be lawful to and for the Mayor of the ſaid City, for the Time being, for ever hereafter to nominate, and from Time to Time appoint the Clerk of the Market, who ſhall have Aſſize of Bread, Wine, Beer, Wood, and other Things; and to do, execute and perform all Things belonging to the Clerk of the Market within the ſaid City.

AND

AND I will that the Coroners to be choſen by the County of *Philadelphia* for the Time being, ſhall be Coroners of the ſaid City and Liberties thereof; but that the Freemen and Inhabitants of the ſaid City ſhall from Time to Time, as often as Occaſion be, have equal Liberty with the Inhabitants of the ſaid County, to recommend or chuſe Perſons to ſerve in the reſpective Capacities of Coroners and Sheriffs for the County of *Philadelphia*, who ſhall reſide within the ſaid City.

AND that the Sheriff of the ſaid City and County for the Time being, ſhall be the Water-Bailiff, who ſhall and may execute and perform all Things belonging to the Officer of Water-Bailiff, upon *Delaware* River, and all other navigable Rivers and Creeks within the ſaid Province.

AND in Caſe the Mayor of the ſaid City for the Time being, ſhall, during the Time of his Mayoralty, miſbehave himſelf, or miſgovern in that Office, I do hereby impower the Recorder, Aldermen and Common-council Men, or *five* of the Aldermen and *nine* of the Common-council Men of the ſaid City of *Philadelphia*, for the Time being, to remove ſuch Mayor from his Office of Mayoralty; and in ſuch Caſe, or in Caſe of the Death of the ſaid Mayor for the Time being, that then another fit Perſon ſhall, within *four* Days next after ſuch Death or Removal, be choſen in Manner as is above directed for electing of Mayors, in the Place of him ſo dead or removed.

AND leſt there ſhould be a Failure of Juſtice or Government in the ſaid City, in ſuch Interval, I do hereby appoint, That the eldeſt Alderman for the Time being, ſhall take upon him the Office of a Mayor there, and ſhall exerciſe the ſame till another Mayor be choſen as aforeſaid; and in Caſe of the Diſability of ſuch eldeſt Alderman, then the next

next in Seniority, ſhall take upon him the ſaid Office of Mayor, to exerciſe the ſame as aforeſaid.

AND in Caſe the Recorder, or any of the Aldermen or Common-council Men of or belonging to the ſaid City, for the Time being, ſhall miſbehave him or themſelves in their reſpective Offices and Places, they ſhall be removed and others choſen in their Stead, in Manner following, *that is to ſay*, The Recorder for the Time being, may be removed (for his Miſbehaviour) by the Mayor, and *two thirds* of the Aldermen and Common-council Men reſpectively; and in Caſe of ſuch Removal or of the Death of the Recorder, then to chuſe another fit Perſon ſkilled in the Law, to be the Recorder there, and ſo to continue during Pleaſure as aforeſaid.

AND the Alderman ſo miſbehaving himſelf, may be removed by the Mayor, Recorder and *nine* of the Aldermen and Common-council Men; and in Caſe of ſuch Removal or Death, then within *four* Days after, to chuſe a fit Perſon or Perſons to ſupply ſuch Vacancies; and the Common-council Men, Conſtables, and Clerk of the Market, for Miſbehaviour, ſhall be removed and others choſen, as is directed in the Caſe of Aldermen.

AND I do alſo, for me and my Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, grant to the ſaid Mayor and Commonalty, and their Succeſſors, that if any of the Citizens of the ſaid City, ſhall be hereafter nominated, elected, and choſen to the Office of Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council Men as aforeſaid, and having Notice of his or their Election, ſhall refuſe to undertake and execute that Office to which he is ſo choſen, that then, and ſo often it ſhall and may be lawful for the Mayor and Recorder, Aldermen and Common-council Men, or the major Part of the Aldermen and Common-council Men for the Time being, according to their Diſcretion, to impoſe

poſe ſuch moderate Fines upon ſuch Refuſers, ſo as the Mayor's Fine exceed not *forty Pounds*, the Alderman's *five and thirty Pounds*, and Common-council Men *twenty Pounds*, and other Officers proportionably, to be levied by Diſtreſs and Sale, by Warrant under the common Seal, or by other lawful Ways, to the Uſe of the ſaid Corporation.

AND in ſuch Caſes it ſhall be lawful to chuſe others to ſupply the Defects of ſuch Refuſers, in Manner as is as above directed for Elections.

AND that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the Mayor, Recorder, and at leaſt *three* Aldermen for the Time being, from Time to Time, ſo often as they ſhall find Occaſion, to ſummon a Common-council of the ſaid City.

AND that no Aſſembly or Meeting of the ſaid Citizens, ſhall be deemed or accounted a Common-council, unleſs the ſaid Mayor and Recorder, and at leaſt *three* of the Aldermen for the Time being, and *nine* of the Common-council Men be preſent.

AND alſo that the ſaid Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common-council Men for the Time being, from Time to Time, at their Common-council, ſhall have Power to admit ſuch and ſo many Freemen into their Corporation and Society as they ſhall think fit.

AND to make (and they may make, ordain, conſtitute and eſtabliſh) ſuch and ſo many good and reaſonable Laws, Ordinances and Conſtitutions (not repugnant to the Laws of *England* and this Government) as to the greater Part of them at ſuch Common-council aſſembled (where the Mayor and Recorder for the Time being, are to be always preſent) ſhall ſeem neceſſary and convenient for the Government of the ſaid City.

AND the ſame Laws, Ordinances, Orders and Conſtitutions ſo to be made, to put in Uſe and Execution accordingly, by the proper Officers of the ſaid

ſaid City; and at their Pleaſure to revoke, alter, and make anew, as Occaſion ſhall require.

AND alſo impoſe ſuch Mulcts and Amerciaments upon the Breakers of ſuch Laws and Ordinances, as to them in their Diſcretion ſhall be thought reaſonable; which Mulcts, as alſo all other Fines and Amerciaments to be ſet or impoſed by Virtue of the Powers granted, ſhall be levied as above is directed in Caſe of Fines, to the Uſe of the ſaid Corporation, without rendering any Account thereof to me, my Heirs and Succeſſors; with Power to the Common-council aforeſaid, to mitigate, remit, or releaſe ſuch Fines and Mulcts, upon the Submiſſion of the Parties. *Provided always*, That no Perſon or Perſons hereafter, ſhall have Right of electing or being elected, by Virtue of theſe Preſents, to any Office or Place judicial or miniſterial, nor ſhall be admitted Freemen of the ſaid City, unleſs they be free Denizens of this Province, and are of the Age of *twenty-one* Years or upwards, and are Inhabitants of the ſaid City, and have an Eſtate of Inheritance or Freehold therein, or are worth *fifty Pounds* in Money, or other Stock, and have been reſident in the ſaid City for the Space of *two* Years, or ſhall purchaſe their Freedom of the Mayor and Commonalty aforeſaid.

AND I do further grant to the ſaid Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, that they and their Succeſſors, ſhall and may for ever hereafter hold and keep within the ſaid City, in every Week of the Year, *two* Market-days, the one upon the *fourth* Day of the Week, and the other upon the *ſeventh* Day of the Week, in ſuch Place or Places as is, ſhall, or may be appointed for that Purpoſe, by the ſaid Commonalty or their Succeſſors, from Time to Time.

AND alſo *two* Fairs therein every Year, the one of them to begin on the *ſixteenth* Day of the *third*

third Month, called *May*, yearly, and so to be held in and about the Market-place, and continue for that Day and *two* Days next following; and the other of the said Fairs to be held in the aforesaid Place on the *sixteenth* Day of the *ninth* Month yearly, and for *two* Days next after.

AND I do for me, my Heirs and Assigns, by Virtue of the King's Letters Patent, make, erect and constitute the said City of *Philadelphia*, to be a Port or Harbour for discharging and unlading of Goods and Merchandize out of Ships, Boats, and other Vessels; and for landing and shipping them in or upon such and so many Places, Keys and Wharfs there, as by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of the said City, shall from Time to Time be thought most expedient for the Accommodation and Service of the Officers of the Customs, in the Management of the King's Affairs and Preservation of his Duties, as well as for Conveniency of Trade.

AND I do ordain and declare, that the said Port or Harbour shall be called the Port of *Philadelphia*, and shall extend and be accounted to extend into all such Creeks, Rivers, and Places within this Province, and shall have so many Wharfs, Keys, Landing-places and Members belonging thereto, for landing and shipping of Goods, as the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council for the Time being, with the Approbation of the chief Officer or Officers of the King's Customs, shall from Time to Time think fit to appoint.

AND I do also ordain, that the Landing-places now and heretofore used at the *Penny-pot-house* and *Blue-anchor*, saving to all Persons their just and legal Right and Properties in the Lands so to be open; as also the Swamp between *Bud*'s Buildings and the *Society-hill*, shall be left open and common for the Use and Service of the said City and all others, with Liberty to dig Docks and make Har-

bours for Ships and Veſſels, in all or any Part of the ſaid Swamp.

AND I do hereby grant, that all the vacant Land within the Bounds and Limits of the ſaid City, ſhall remain open as a free Common of Paſture, for the Uſe of the Inhabitants of the ſaid City, until the ſame ſhall be gradually taken in, in order to build or improve thereon, and not otherwiſe. *Provided always*, That nothing herein contained, ſhall debar me or my Heirs in Time to come, from fencing in all the vacant Lands that lie between the *Center* Meeting-houſe and the *Schuylkil*, which I intend ſhall be divided from the Land by me allotted for *Delaware* Side, by a ſtrait Line along the *Broad-ſtreet* from *Edward Shippen*'s Land through the *Center* Square by *Daniel Pegg*'s Land; nor ſhall the fencing or taking in any of the Streets, happening to be within that Incloſure on *Skuylkil*, be deemed or adjudged to be an Incroachment, where it ſhall not interfere or ſtop any of the Streets or Paſſages leading to any of the Houſes built or to be built on that Side, any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

AND I do grant, that this preſent Charter, ſhall, in all Courts of Law and Equity, be conſtrued and taken moſt favourably and beneficially, for the ſaid Corporation.

IN WITNESS whereof, I have hereunto ſet my Hand, and cauſed my great Seal to be affixed. Dated at *Philadelphia* the *five and twentieth* Day of *October*, Anno Domini *one Thouſand ſeven Hundred and One*, and in the *thirteenth* Year of the Reign of King *WILLIAM the Third*, over *England*, &c. and the *one and twentieth* Year of my Government.

WILLIAM PENN.

The CHARTER *of* PRIVILEGES *granted by* WILLIAM PENN, *Esq; to the Inhabitants of* Pensylvania *and Territories.*

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pensylvania*, and Territories thereunto belonging. To all to whom these Presents shall come, sendeth Greeting. WHEREAS King *CHARLES the Second*, by his Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the *fourth* Day of *March*, in the Year *one Thousand six Hundred and Eighty*, was graciously pleased to give and grant unto me, and my Heirs and Assigns for ever, this Province of *Pensylvania*, with divers great Powers and Jurisdictions for the well Government thereof.

AND WHEREAS the King's dearest Brother, *JAMES Duke of YORK and ALBANY*, &c. by his Deeds of Feoffment, under his Hand and Seal duly perfected, bearing Date the *twenty-fourth* Day of *August*, *one Thousand six Hundred Eighty and Two*, did grant unto me, my Heirs and Assigns, all that Tract of Land, now called the Territories of *Pensylvania*, together with Powers and Jurisdictions for the good Government thereof.

AND WHEREAS for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters, that might be concerned in the said Province and Territories, and for the good Government thereof, I the said WILLIAM PENN, in the Year *one Thousand six Hundred Eighty and Three*, for me, my Heirs and Assigns, did grant and confirm unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers therein, divers Liberties, Franchises and Properties, as by the said Grant, entituled, *The* FRAME *of the Government of the Province of* Pensylvania, *and Territories thereunto*

belonging, in *America*, may appear; which Charter or Frame being found in ſome Parts of it, not ſo ſuitable to the preſent Circumſtances of the Inhabitants, was in the *third* Month, in the Year *one Thouſand ſeven Hundred*, delivered up to me, by *ſix* Parts of *ſeven* of the Freemen of this Province and Territories, in general Aſſembly met, Proviſion being made in the ſaid Charter, for that End and Purpoſe.

AND WHEREAS I was then pleaſed to promiſe, That I would reſtore the ſaid Charter to them again, with neceſſary Alterations, or in Lieu thereof, give them another, better adapted to anſwer the preſent Circumſtances and Conditions of the ſaid Inhabitants; which they have now, by their Repreſentatives in general Aſſembly, met at *Philadelphia*, requeſted me to grant.

KNOW YE THEREFORE, That for the further Well-being and good Government of the ſaid Province, and Territories; and in Purſuance of the Rights and Powers before-mentioned, I the ſaid *William Penn* do declare, grant and confirm, unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, and other Inhabitants in this Province and Territories, theſe following Liberties, Franchiſes and Privileges, ſo far as in me lieth, to be held, enjoyed and kept, by the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, and other Inhabitants of and in the ſaid Province and Territories thereunto annexed, for ever.

FIRST.

BECAUSE no People can be truly happy, though under the greateſt Enjoyment of civil Liberties, if abridged of the Freedom of their Conſciences, as to their religious Profeſſion and Worſhip: And Almighty God being the only Lord of Conſcience, Father of Lights and Spirits, and the Author as well as Object of all divine Knowledge,

Faith

Faith and Worſhip, who only doth enlighten the Minds, and perſuade and convince the Underſtandings of People, I do hereby grant and declare, That no Perſon or Perſons, inhabiting in this Province or Territories, who ſhall confeſs and acknowledge *One* Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World; and profeſs him or themſelves obliged to live quietly under the civil Government, ſhall be in any Caſe moleſted or prejudiced, in his or their Perſon or Eſtate, becauſe of his or their conſcientious Perſuaſion or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worſhip, Place or Miniſtry, contrary to his or their Mind, or to do or ſuffer any other Act or Thing, contrary to their religious Perſuaſion.

AND that all Perſons who alſo profeſs to believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Saviour of the World, ſhall be capable (notwithſtanding their other Perſuaſions and Practices in Point of Conſcience and Religion) to ſerve this Government in any Capacity, both legiſlatively and executively, he or they ſolemnly promiſing, when lawfully required, Allegiance to the King as Sovereign, and Fidelity to the Proprietary and Governor, and taking the Atteſts as now eſtabliſhed by the Law made at *Newcaſtle* in the Year *one Thouſand and ſeven Hundred*, entitled, *An Act directing the Atteſts of ſeveral Officers and Miniſters, as now amended and confirmed by this preſent Aſſembly.*

II.

FOR the well governing of this Province and Territories, there ſhall be an Aſſembly yearly choſen, by the Freemen thereof, to conſiſt of *four* Perſons out of each County, of moſt Note for Virtue, Wiſdom and Ability, (or of a greater Number at any Time, as the Governor and Aſſembly ſhall agree) upon the *firſt* Day of *October* for ever; and ſhall ſit on the *fourteenth* Day of the ſame

VI.

THAT no Perſon or Perſons ſhall or may, at any Time hereafter, be obliged to anſwer any Complaint, Matter or Thing whatſoever, relating to Property, before the Governor and Council, or in any other Place, but in ordinary Courſe of Juſtice, unleſs Appeals thereunto ſhall be hereafter by Law appointed.

VII.

THAT no Perſon within this Government, ſhall be licenſed by the Governor to keep an Ordinary, Tavern, or Houſe of publick Entertainment, but ſuch who are firſt recommended to him, under the Hands of the Juſtices of the reſpective Counties, ſigned in open Court; which Juſtices are and ſhall be hereby impowered, to ſuppreſs and forbid any Perſon, keeping ſuch Publick-houſe as aforeſaid, upon their Miſbehaviour, on ſuch Penalties as the Law doth or ſhall direct; and to recommend others from Time to Time, as they ſhall ſee Occaſion.

VIII.

IF any Perſon, through Temptation or Melancholy, ſhall deſtroy himſelf, his Eſtate, real and perſonal, ſhall notwithſtanding deſcend to his Wife and Children, or Relations, as if he had died a natural Death; and if any Perſon ſhall be deſtroyed or killed by Caſualty or Accident, there ſhall be no Forfeiture to the Governor by Reaſon thereof.

AND no Act, Law or Ordinance whatſoever, ſhall at any Time hereafter, be made or done, to alter, change or diminiſh the Form or Effect of this Charter, or of any Part or Clauſe therein, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, without the Conſent of the Governor for the Time being, and *ſix* Parts of *ſeven* of the Aſſembly met.

BUT

BUT becauſe the Happineſs of Mankind depends ſo much upon the enjoying of Liberty of their Conſciences as aforeſaid, I do hereby ſolemnly declare, promiſe and grant, for me, my Heirs and Aſſigns, that the *firſt* Article of this Charter relating to Liberty of Conſcience, and every Part and Clauſe therein, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, ſhall be kept and remain without any Alteration, inviolably for ever.

AND LASTLY, I the ſaid *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Penſylvania*, and Territories thereunto belonging, for myſelf, my Heirs and Aſſigns, have ſolemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby ſolemnly declare, grant and confirm, That neither I, my Heirs or Aſſigns, ſhall procure or do any Thing or Things, whereby the Liberties in this Charter contained and expreſſed, nor any Part thereof, ſhall be infringed or broken: And if any Thing ſhall be procured or done, by any Perſon or Perſons, contrary to theſe Preſents, it ſhall be held of no Force or Effect.

IN WITNESS whereof, I the ſaid *William Penn*, at *Philadelphia* in *Penſylvania*, have unto this preſent Charter of Liberties, ſet my Hand and broad Seal, this *twenty-eighth* Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord, *one Thouſand ſeven Hundred and One*, being the *thirteenth* Year of the Reign of King *WILLIAM the Third*, over *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. and the *twenty-firſt* Year of my Government.

AND NOTWITHSTANDING the Cloſure and Teſt of this preſent Charter as aforeſaid, I think fit to add this following Proviſo thereunto, as Part of the ſame, *That is to ſay*, That notwithſtanding any Clauſe or Clauſes in the abovementioned Charter, obliging the Province and Territories, to join together in Legiſlation, I am content,

content, and do hereby declare, That if the Repreſentatives of the Province and Territories ſhall not hereafter agree to join together in Legiſlation, and that the ſame ſhall be ſignified unto me, or my Deputy, in open Aſſembly, or otherwiſe, from under the Hands and Seals of the Repreſentatives, for the Time being, of the Province and Territories, or the major Part of either of them, at any Time within *three* Years from the Date hereof, that in ſuch Caſe, the Inhabitants of each of the *three* Counties of this Province, ſhall not have leſs than *eight* Perſons to repreſent them in Aſſembly, for the Province; and the Inhabitants of the Town of *Philadelphia* (when the ſaid Town is incorporated) *two* Perſons to repreſent them in Aſſembly; and the Inhabitants of each County in the Territories, ſhall have as many Perſons to repreſent them, in a diſtinct Aſſembly for the Territories, as ſhall be by them requeſted as aforeſaid.

NOTWITHSTANDING which Separation of the Province and Territories, in Reſpect of Legiſlation, I do hereby promiſe, grant and declare, That the Inhabitants of both Province and Territories, ſhall ſeparately enjoy all other Liberties, Privileges and Benefits, granted jointly to them in this Charter, any Law, Uſage, or Cuſtom of this Government heretofore made and practiſed, or any Law made and paſſed by this General Aſſembly, to the contrary hereof notwithſtanding.

WILLIAM PENN.

THIS CHARTER of PRIVILEGES *being diſtinctly read in Aſſembly, and the whole and every Part thereof, being approved of and agreed to, by us, we do thankfully receive the ſame from our Proprietary and Governor, at* Philadelphia, *this* twenty-eighth *Day of* October,

tober, one Thouſand ſeven Hundred and One.
Signed on Behalf, and by Order of the Aſſembly,
per Joſeph Growdon, *Speaker.*

Edward Shippen,
Phineas Pemberton,
Samuel Carpenter,
Griffith Owen,
Caleb Puſey,
Thomas Story,
} Proprietary and Governor's Council.

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